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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

RELIGION, LAW,

GOVERNMENT, AND MANNERS

OF THE

B. 1064.

TURKS.

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THE SECOND EDITION,

Corrected and enlarged by the AUTHOR.

To which is added,

The STATE of the TURKEY TRADE,

From its ORIGIN to the PRESENT TIME.

——fas ſit mihi viſa referre. OVID. Ep. xvi.

LONDON,

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M DCC LXXI.

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THE

THE INTERPRETATION OF TURKISH AND ARABIC WORDS, WHICH

Uſually occur in NARRATIVES concerning the OTTOMAN Affairs.

AL Othman, the name of the Turkiſh nation, taken from the Emperor *Othman* *, or *Oſman* the founder: this name is corrupted by the European writers into *Ottoman*. Thus we ſay the *Ottoman Porte*; the Porte meaning the Gate of the Court to the Emperor's Seraglio or Palace. The Turks emphatically call that gate, *Bàbi Humayùn*, the Sublime Porte; *Bàbi Adalit*, the Gate of Juſtice; *Bàbi Seadèt*, the Gate of Majeſty; *Bàbi* or *Dèri Deulet*, the Gate of Felicity; and many other ſuch pompous titles.

Padiſhà, the title given by the Turks to their Emperors, which anſwers to the name of Grand Seignor, or Sultan.

Vizir Azem, Supreme Vizir, or Governor.

Kiehaia, Lieutenant, or Deputy to the Vizir.

Reis Effendi, High Chancellor, acting alſo as Secretary of State.

Tefterdar, Treaſurer of the Empire.

Niſhanji Baſhi, Keeper of the Seals, who ſigns the Grand Seignor's name.

* From Anno-Domini 1219, to 1362.

Mufti, ſignifies, properly, Interpreter of the Law; and is, alſo, the High Prieſt.

Kaimacam, officiates as *locum tenens* in the abſence of the Vizir Azem.

Cadiuloſkers, Lord Chief Juſtices in all caſes: there are only two; one for Europe, and the other for Aſia.

Selictar Aga, Sword Bearer.

Cohadar Aga, Great Chamberlain, and Maſter of the Ward-robe.

Diulbend Aga, the officer who puts the turban on the Grand Seignor.

Imbrickdar Aga, the officer who brings water to the Sultan for ablutions before prayer.

Hoje, Tutor to the Sultan in his youth.

Hekim Baſhi, head Phyſician to the Sultan. *Baſhi*, applied to all officers, ſignifies the Chief or Head.

Berber Baſhi, the head Barber.

Jerrah Baſhi, the head Surgeon.

Rekabdar Aga, the officer who holds the ſtirrup for the Sultan to mount his horſe

Buiuk Imrahor, Great Maſter of the Horſe.

Kuiuck Imrahor, Second Maſter of the Horſe.

Boſtanji Baſhi, Superintendant of the Gardens: when the Grand Signor goes by water, he ſteers the boat, or goes before in another to clear the way.

Kiſlar Aga, Overſeer of the Ladies, a black Eunuch.

Haſnadar Baſhi, Private Treaſurer, or Purſe-bearer to the Grand Seignor; alſo an Eunuch.

Haſaky Sultana, the Royal Lady, ſhe who firſt bears a ſon to the Grand Seignor.

Valide Sultana, the Lady who is Mother of a Prince, and lives to ſee her ſon become Emperor.

Serai, or, as we ſay, Seraglio, a large houſe or palace.

Harem, the women's apartments in the Seraglio, either of the Grand Seignor or of any other man.

Ichoglans, boys kept together in a college, intended for Pages and other officers in the palace.

Mutpach Emini, Chief of the Sultan's kitchen.

Arpah Emini, Purveyor of Barley for the imperial ſtables, and officers belonging thereto.

Muhazi, General Purveyor.

Chauſh,

Chauſh or *Chiaoux Baſhi*, Head or Chief of the *Chauſii*; ſome attend in civil offices; ſome in military, acting as bailiffs or as meſſengers; this office ſeems to have an affinity with the Great Marſhal of other courts.

Capigis, Porters to the gates of the ſeraglio.

Mohammed, the falſe Prophet, generally called by European authors Mahomet, the founder of the Mahometan Religion.

Hejira, The flight of Mahomet from Mecca, which has fixed the Mahometan æra, and is reckoned in lunar years, from the year 622 of the Chriſtian æra.

Al Koran, ſignifies *what ought to be read*; this book was delivered by Mahomet to his followers as a divine revelation, and ever ſince has been conſidered as the infallible inſtitutes of religion and law.

Abdeſt, the ablution or waſhing before prayers.

Miſſiman, or as we write *Muſulman*, one of the faith, or a true believer.

Corban, the great ſacrifice of a number of ſheep made by the Mahometan pilgrims at the mount Arafata, as they approach to Mecca.

Ramazan or *Ramadan*, the month of faſting, the Lent of the Turks; it revolves with the moon, as all their months are lunar. They ſtrictly faſt from ſun-riſing till ſun-ſet; the nights they paſs in eating and ſleep.

Beiram, the feſtivals or rejoicing days. There are two great ones obſerved by the Turks; the one begins when the Ramazan ends, as our Eaſter follows Lent. The ſecond is called Chuchuk or Corban Beiram, the the Feſtival of Sacrifice, which begins ſeventy days after the former Beiram, and holds three days.

Jami, a Turkiſh temple, privileged for the Friday's devotion. When one is built by an Emperor, it is called Sultanjami or Sultanyn.

Medreſè, academies or greater ſchools, built near the court of the Jamis.

Minaret, a ſlender and very lofty, round, hollow pillar, with ſtairs, having one, two, or three external balconies at different heights, from which the hour of prayer is conſtantly cried. S. Sophia and the Solimani at Conſtantinople have, each of them, four Minarets, one placed at each corner of their ſquares. The tops

of the Minarets finiſh conical, like our ſpires; and at their extreme points they bear gilded creſcents.

Turbè, a room built near a Jami, for the coffins of a Sultan, his Sultanas, and their children.

Muezins, the criers who, from the balconies of the Minarets, call aloud to prayers; the tones of their voices are very clear and muſical; they ſummon to prayer five times in the day.

Meſchids, leſſer Temples or Moſchès, for daily devotion

Imaum, an ordinary prieſt.

Daniſhmend, deacons ſerving in the Jami.

Sheïkh, Prelate or head of a Jami; the Sheïkh of St. Sophia, at Conſtantinople, takes place of all others. There are alſo Sheïkhs of Derviſhes who preach and officiate, and are looked upon as holy men.

Derviſh, a Mahometan monk, there are various ſorts.

Nakib, Chief of the Green Heads or Emirs, before whom they are judged and puniſhed; the word ſtrictly ſignifies chief of the ſaints. There are two Nakib's at Conſtantinople, one of S. Sophia, and another of Eiup.

Emirs, deſcendants of Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. The empire ſwarms with theſe wretches, who often have not bread to eat: they diſtinguiſh themſelves by their green turbans.

Hadgè, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Every true Muſulman thinks himſelf obliged to perform it once in his life.

Divan Chanè, a chamber of council where cauſes are heard, and ſuits are tried; the two principal divans or councils of the empire are thoſe of the Grand Seignor, and the Prime Vizir at Conſtantinople. They who are admitted to the Sultan's divan muſt wear a caftan or robe for the occaſion. Sundays and Tueſdays are fixed for the Sultan's divan. Four days in the week the Vizir hears cauſes, and Thurſday is a day of reſt.

Armahzar, a petition from a whole province or from the army.

Arzuhal, a petition from private perſons.

Teſkierejis Effendis, two ſecretaries, or, properly, maſters of requeſts belonging to the Prime Vizir in the divan

van; the firſt ſtands on his right-hand, the other on his left.

Firman, a command of the Grand Seignor. The paſſports granted to travellers are Firmans, to which is ſet the *Turah* or ſignature of the Sultan.

Fetvah, the ſentence of the *Mufti*.

Molàhs, an order of men who inherit their character in lineal ſucceſſion; they are ſent as judges to principal cities and towns.

Ulemas, the Ulema are the whole body of the churchmen and law. Theſe are properly compoſed of the order of Moulahs.

Cadi, a judge who preſides in towns for a year.

Effendi, ſignifies, noble, learned, and is applied to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, as Mufti Effendi, &c.

Chelebi, ſignifies noble, very noble, and is applied to men of the higheſt rank; but is now loſt in the epithet of Effendi, adapted ſince the conqueſt of the Greeks, from their language.

Sanjak, a Governor under a Beg, ſo a Beg is under a Baſhaw, and a Baſhaw under a Beglerbeg.

Beglerbeg, ſignifies Prince of Princes, a title given to all Vizirs of three *Tugs*, *i. e.* Horſe-Tails. There are three more eſpecially honoured with this appellation, viz. *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, who reſides at Sophia. *Anadoli Beglerbegi*, who reſides at *Kutahia*; and *Sham Beglerbi*, who reſides at *Damaſcus*.

Pachà or *Baſſà*. We write the word Baſhaw for the ſake of the pronunciation. This title is given to Governors, but differs in dignity. They of the the loweſt have one Tug, the next have two, and thoſe of the higheſt rank three.

Pachalyk, the government aſſigned to a Baſhaw.

Kaab, a Scribe.

Dragoman, an Interpreter.

Aga, means Maſter or Commander; ſo *Janizar Aga* expreſſes the officer who commands the whole body of Janizaries.

Serder, the Chief of the Janizaries in his diſtrict.

Yengi-cheri. This word, which means new ſoldier, is the ſame as Janizari; the body of infantry which ſerves as the Grand Seignor's ordinary Militia, is ſo called.

Bayrac, an Enſign or Flag; hence Bayractar, the Enſign-bearer.

Spahilaragaſi, the Commander in Chief of the Spahis or Horſe-guards of the Grand Seignor. Theſe are regularly paid at the Porte; the other cavalry of the empire, are *Zaims* and *Timars*, and paid by the provinces where they are raiſed

Seraſkier, the general of the whole army; the name and power ceaſes when the expedition is at an end.

Hoſpodar, the title of the Princes of Walachia and Moldavia: they receive the inveſtiture of thoſe principalities by a magnificent veſt and ſtandard given to each of them by the Grand Seignor.

Vayvode, a Sclavonian word for a Governor.

Topchi Baſchi, chief of the Gunners, and Maſter of the Cannons.

Bombarji Baſhi, Maſter, or Head of the Bombardiers and Bombs.

Gebegys, the Armourers.

Topehana Nazyri, Superintendant of the Ordnance.

Capùdan Pachà, High Admiral of the Grand Seignor's Fleets.

Levendi, a word uſed by the Turks, and corrupted from the Italian word *Levanti*; it denotes the Marine Forces; Greeks and other Chriſtians are admitted among them, which is not allowed in any other corps of the Ottoman troops.

Raias, ſo the Turks call all the native Chriſtian or Jew ſubjects of the Grand Seignor.

Kharazzi, Tribute-money or Capitation-tax, levied on the vaſſals or ſubjects in the Ottoman dominions, as Greeks, Jews, &c.

Hamams, the Baths or Bagnios.

Meidan, a great ſquare or place for the exerciſes of Horſemanſhip.

Bazar, a market.

Bezeſtyn, an exchange: in it on each ſide are the ſhops for the various ſorts of Goods; it forms narrow ſtreets covered over head; all the tradeſmen who ſell the ſame ſort of goods, are contiguous one to the other.

Kioſc, a ſummer-houſe to a garden.

IN-

INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the following Obſervations no ſooner reſolved to communicate them to the public, but he gave them a curſory reviſal, altering the form of ſome, and adding a few others; ſo that the work was ſent to the preſs before he could give it the laſt hand. He was ſenſible that ſome errors, both in ſtile and compoſition, muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of ſo haſty a publication; but he apprehended, that he who ventures to appear in print, ſhould make truth and perſpicuity his chief care; and that if he ſucceeds ſo far as to convey the former by the vehicle of the latter, tri-

ſling blemiſhes and imperfections of ſtile might be overlooked by a candid reader.

When a man, almoſt broken down by a conſtant uſe of the pen in buſineſs, addreſſes the public, he apprehends it to be a ſufficient diſcharge of his duty, if he clearly relates the facts, and throws out ſuch reflections as have naturally occurred to him; but he conſiders a ſcrupulous attention to elegance of ſtile as by no means eſſential in ſuch a narrative. He claims a ſort of diſpenſation from the outward forms of dreſs, and looks upon himſelf as privileged to be looſe * and unadorned.

Had the author wrote merely for reputation, he would have ſtudied elegance of compoſition, and well-turned

* Dicta factaque ejus quanto ſolutiora & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur. Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi. pag. 136.

periods;

periods; he would have aimed at all the refined embelliſhments of a pure, and claſſical ſtile. But he freely reſigns the ornaments of rhetoric to thoſe, who are more ſollicitous about words than things; who prefer cultivating the talents of imagination to the inveſtigation of truth; who delight more in gathering the flowers of eloquence, than in diſpelling the clouds of error, and the enchantments of deluſion. However, though he looks upon verbal criticiſm as below his notice, yet as ſome expreſſions, which to him appeared clear and perſpicuous, have been conſidered as obſcure and equivocal by others, he has thought proper to correct them in the preſent edition.

The author would here beg leave to premiſe two obſervations: the firſt is, that theſe general remarks are taken entirely from his own knowledge of the religion, &c. of the Turks: had he

devi-

deviated from this point, he muſt have done like many others, have compiled from books, and dealt in hearſay ſtories and fiction: he did not attempt to give a full and complete account of an uncommunicative people, concealed and wrapped up in the veil of their own obſcurity.

The ſecond is, that he never aſſerted the Turkiſh government to be perfect, or totally exempt from deſpotiſm, but to be much more perfect and regular, as well as leſs deſpotic, than moſt writers have repreſented it: in a word, to be much ſuperior with regard to the regularity of its form, and the juſtneſs of its adminiſtration, as well as much leſs deſpotic, than the government of ſome Chriſtian ſtates.

A judicious and elegant writer has, however, remarked, that a long reſidence in Turkey, may have ſo reconciled

ciled count Marſigli *, and *the Author of theſe Obſervations*, to the country and people, as to make them unwilling to

* Marſigli, ch. vi. Milit. State of the Turkiſh Empire, and the author of the Obſer. vol. i. pag. 81. differ from other writers, who have deſcribed the political conſtitution of that powerful monarchy: As they had opportunity, during their long reſidence in Turkey, to obſerve the order and juſtice conſpicuous in ſeveral departments of adminiſtration, they ſeem unwilling to admit that it ſhould be denominated a deſpotiſm. But when the form of government in any country is repreſented to be deſpotic, this does not ſuppoſe that the power of the monarch is continually exerted in acts of violence, injuſtice, and cruelty. Under governments of every ſpecies, unleſs when ſome frantic tyrant happens to hold the ſceptre, the ordinary adminiſtration muſt be conformable to the principles of juſtice; and if not active in promoting the welfare of the people, cannot certainly have their deſtruction for its object. A ſtate in which the ſovereign poſſeſſes the abſolute command of a vaſt military force, together with the diſpoſal of an extenſive revenue, in which the people have no privileges, and no part either immediate or remote in legiſlation, in which there is no body of hereditary nobility jealous of their own rights and diſtinctions, to ſtand as an intermediate order between the Porte and the people, cannot be diſtinguiſhed by any name but that of deſpotiſm.

admit

admit the Turkiſh government to be a deſpotism on account of the order and juſtice conſpicuous in ſeveral departments of its adminiſtration.

The reſtraints, however, above mentioned, ariſing from the *-*Capiculy*, and from religion are powerful, but they are not ſuch as change the nature or denomination of government. When a deſpotic prince employs an armed force to ſupport his authority, he commits the ſupreme power to their hands; the prætorian bands in Rome dethroned, murdered, and exalted princes in the ſame wanton manner with the ſoldiery of the Porte at Conſtantinople; but notwithſtanding this, the Roman empire has been conſidered by all political writers as poſſeſſing deſpotic princes. Robertſon's Proofs and Illuſtrations of the Life of Charles V. Note. 42, pag. 388.

But as there are circumſtances which frequently obſtruct or defeat the ſalutary effects of the beſt regulated government, there are others which contribute to mitigate the acts of the moſt vicious forms of policy; there can, indeed, be no conſtitutional reſtraints on the will of a prince in a deſpotic government; but there may be ſuch as are accidental; abſolute as the Turkiſh ſultans are, they feel themſelves circumſcribed both by religion, the prin-

* The *Capiculy*, i. e. ſoldiers at the gate, are thoſe who are upon the original military eſtabliſhment; and include not only the Janiſſaries, but alſo the Boſtanjis, and all other bodies of men who are in conſtant ſervice at the Seraglio.

Hence,

Hence, this ſame writer makes this remark, "that when the form of go-"vernment in any country is repre-"ſented as deſpotic, this does not im-"ply that the power of the monarch "is continually exerted in acts of vio-"lence, injuſtice and cruelty."

We readily agree with this able writer, that through long reſidence in a country, and kind, obliging treatment from the government or the people, prejudices in favour of that country may be ſtrongly contracted;

ciple on which their authority is founded, and by the army, the inſtrument which they muſt employ. In order to maintain it, whenever religion interpoſes the will of the ſovereign muſt ſubmit to its decrees; when the Koran hath preſented any religious rite, hath enjoined any moral duty, or hath confirmed by its ſanction any political maxim, the command of the ſultan cannot overturn that which an higher authority hath eſtabliſhed. The chief reſtriction, however, on the will of the ſovereign is miſuſed by the military power; an armed force muſt ſurround the throne of every deſpot, to maintain his authority, and to execute his commands. Idem, pag. 189.

and theſe may bias the mind to paſs a partial judgment on their government, religon, manners, and cuſtoms. But if, notwithſtanding all this courteous treatment, the evidence of truth and fact obliges us to diſcern the inveterate hatred; which the arrogance of ſuperſtitious zeal excites that government and people to bear towards all who are of a different perſuaſion; or if, amidſt the kindneſs and civility of the inhabitants, any inconveniences or misfortunes ariſe from the ſame ſource to ourſelves, our ſenſibility on ſuch occaſion muſt efface every partial conſideration; the eyes of the underſtanding muſt be opened, and ſuch a people and government will then appear in their true and odious light.

But were we to wave this reflection, the ingenious author muſt ſtill ſurely admit, that a long reſidence in any country, is moſt likely to enable a careful obſerver to acquire a thorough

knowledge of its government, manners, and cuſtoms: ſuch objects are of too complicated and varied a nature for a tranſient traveller, and ſtill more ſo for the ſpeculative author, who is confined to his cloſet, and derives all his ideas from the relations of ſuperficial writers.

It is well known to all who have travelled in Turkey, that the Koran, which is received as a divine revelation by the Turks, is a code of laws between prince and people, a compact binding both, and ſealed in heaven. A deſpotiſm, on the contrary, I take to be a government in which there exiſts neither law nor compact, prior to the uſurped power of the ſovereign; a ſovereign, on whoſe arbitrary will the framing, or the execution of laws depends, and who is bound neither by poſitive divine injunction, nor compact with the people. If therefore the

power of the Grand Seignor is to a certain degree limited and circumſcribed by the Koran, this power comes ſo far ſhort of deſpotiſm. If, moreover, a ſucceſſion of thoſe princes have ſcrupulouſly and religiouſly adhered to that limitation, as from a long reſidence under that government has been obſerved, ſurely the inference is juſt, that the Turkiſh government is a ſpecies of limited monarchy, at leaſt not an abſolute deſpotiſm.

The monarch moſt limited by law or compact, may venture to tranſgreſs and break through the limitation; and yet the obligatory law, or compact, ſtill exiſts: to determine therefore whether a government is properly denominated a deſpotiſm, or not, the queſtion is not whether acts of injuſtice and cruelty are conſtantly or occaſionally exerted? But whether the monarch is really limited by law or compact?

To

To argue from right to fact, can neither be looked upon as juſt or concluſive; the abuſe of a law, or compact by force, by craft, or by any other means, cannot weaken its original obligation; if it be a divine law it muſt continue eternally obligatory and if a compact between parties it muſt remain in force, till diſſolved by mutual conſent.

"But then, continues our author, a "ſtate in which the ſovereign has the "abſolute command of a vaſt military "force, as alſo an extenſive revenue at "his diſpoſal, in which the people have "no privileges, and no ſhare, either im- "mediate or remote, in legiſlation, in "which there is no body of hereditary "nobility jealous of their rights and "diſtinctions, to ſtand as an interme- "diate order between the prince and "the people, cannot be called by any

"other name than that of a de-
"ſpotiſm."

Even if we ſhould admit, that when all theſe ſeveral conditions are wanting in a government, ſuch government may be denominated a deſpotiſm; we may juſtly maintain notwithſtanding, that the Turkiſh empire does not fall under this predicament. With regard to the firſt part of the argument, viz. the Grand Signor's abſolute power over a vaſt army; I muſt obſerve, by way of explaining what I have advanced concerning the military eſtabliſhment in Turkey, that the ſtanding army in that empire is but inconſiderable, and that the ſovereign's power over it is by no means abſolute; that of conſequence ſuch an army is far from being an inſtrument ſuited to the purpoſes of deſpotiſm.

The

The Janiſſaries, it is true, are ſaid to amount to 200,000; ſome ſwell them to 300,000, and the muſter-rolls may contain very great numbers; but it ſhould be taken into conſideration, that not only at Conſtantinople, but in all the frontier garriſons, there are multitudes who give money to get their names enrolled, in order to enjoy the privileges and immunities of that reſpectable corps, to be free of that city, to work at manual trades, to have a right to open ſhops, to keep ſtalls, or engage in commerce; theſe, however, receive no pay, and are at liberty to withdraw their names whenever they think proper; thus circumſtanced, they are volunteers. It is not therefore poſſible to aſcertain the preciſe number of Janiſſaries, which can be denominated a ſtanding army; in this reſpect neither

ther Solyman the lawgiver's canon *, nor the rolls, can be of any ſervice to us. The only way to form a juſt eſtimate in this affair, is to take into conſideration the pay diſtributed to the Janiſſaries throughout the whole empire in the ſpace of ſix months: it amounts to 2400 purſes, or 150,000 l. with regard to the ſum, there can be no miſtake, becauſe we ſee it told out and paid to each chamber at the Divan. Now if we ſuppoſe that the pay of the ſtaff, and all other officers and private men may be eſtimated upon an average at three pence a day, we ſhall not find above 60,000 Janiſſaries in conſtant pay, throughout the vaſt extent of the empire. But even this

* This book of laws was publiſhed by Sofyman the Magnificent, and entitled Kanûn Nameh, that is, the Book of Regulations, containing the expences of the Turkiſh government.

pay is often greatly reduced by abuſes and conceſſions, as it appeared at the execution of the *Kiſlar-Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, in the year 1752.

The young ſlave, Soyman Aga, availing himſelf of the uſurped credit of his maſter, appropriated to his own uſe the pay of 8000 Janiſſaries; and it is notorious that ſeveral great men obtain it for their ſervants, who, in time of war, never join the army. Add to this, that amongſt the whole numbers, who in time of peace receive their pay, near one fourth are invalids, incapable of military ſervice.

But the numerous armies attributed to the Turks, are by no means made up entirely of Janiſſaries; the latter conſtitute but an inconſiderable number of them in compariſon. Upon a declaration of war, all the inhabitants

of each diſtrict from 16 to 60 are ſummoned to join the ſtandard of their Baſhaw, and to rendezvous at a certain place. Thoſe who approve of the war, or who like their commanders, join the army, but are not obliged to ſerve out a campaign; they ſtay or return as their fancy or inclination directs. The very Janiſſaries themſelves act on the ſame principle: I was told by a Biractar, or enſign of the Janiſſaries, that after the defeat at Choczim by the Ruſſians in the laſt war, he fled from his colours, and returned to his own habitation; and that this was their conſtant practice.

The real army of the Grand Signor is therefore to be conſidered as compoſed of the people, who conſtitute four or five to one of the corps that is kept upon the eſtabliſhment.

Nor

Nor can any of thoſe Janiſſaries in pay be diſtinguiſhed from the people; they are not in the courſe of the longeſt peace either diſciplined or reviewed; nay, it cannot be ſaid, that they are even embodied.

The Turkiſh horſe conſiſting of the Spahis, who are regularly paid, and the Zayms and the Timais, who are poſſeſſed of military tenures, are not under a diſcipline more ſtrict; for when they are called upon to ſerve, they can have recourſe to evaſions as eaſily as the others; they repair to the camp, juſt make their appearance, are enrolled, and a few days after return to their own homes. How little then can the principal ends of deſpotiſm be anſwered by a vaſt army, which the public revenue is hardly capable of putting in motion? The influence of money may

indeed excite an incommenſurable number of banditti, to join in ſupporting a deſpot for a time; but as the bulk of the militia conſiſts of the people themſelves, and as they are as well trained to arms as any of the regulars in pay, what can the moſt arbitrary government expect, but to be controlled and oppoſed by thoſe, whom it would endeavour to make the tools and inſtruments of oppreſſion and tyrannic ſway? It is indeed evident in fact, that an army thus compoſed of the body of the people, is a powerful check upon the Grand Signor, and his miniſters themſelves in all their proceedings. The author admits this with regard to thoſe he calls *Capiculy*, but theſe are in every reſpect in the ſame predicament with the reſt of the army.

From

From what has been ſaid, it appears that theſe troops are by no means upon the ſame footing with the Prætorian guards. The former, I will take it upon me to affirm, never of themſelves depoſed a ſingle prince of their own, from Ottoman to the preſent Muſtapha. But there is another order of men in the ſtate more dangerous to the ſovereign; theſe have, by their intrigues and ſecret machinations, been the fomenters of every rebellion; their combinations are truly formidable to the prince; as they have the higheſt credit and influence with the people and the ſoldiery, whoſe paſſions they can in a moment inflame to a degree of phrenzy, and render them fit inſtruments to execute their pernicious deſigns.

To elucidate this point more thoroughly, we ſhall proceed to examine the other part of our author's obſervation.

vation. The people in Turkey, it is true, have no ſhare immediate or remote in legiſlation; they are excluded from this by the original compact in the Koran, which has eſtabliſhed all their privileges, ſecured their perſons and properties, and aſcertained the extent of their rights; ſhould they happen not to be ſufficiently extenſive to anſwer the end of abſolute liberty, (if ſuch a thing be compatible with government,) they ſerve, however, as a barrier and fence againſt the monarch's exertion of power, directed by his pleaſure and will; and point out the right of reſiſtance, when he exceeds the due limits of his authority. The fact is therefore, that though the people have no ſhare, either immediate or remote, in the legiſlation; they have the Ulema *, (a circumſtance which ſeems

* Among theſe the order of the Moulahs are the chief; the Cadis are alſo a part, but never riſe

to

to eſcape the ingenious author's knowledge) compoſed of all the members of the church or law; a body of men equal, if not ſuperior to any nobility, jealous of their rights and privileges, and who ſtand as an intermediate order between the prince and people. Among theſe, the order of Moulahs are the chief, being alſo hereditary; they derive their authority from Heaven and the Koran, and conſider it of courſe to be as well founded as that of the Grand Signor: they may be called the perpetual and hereditary guardians of the religion and laws of the empire; their perſons are ſacred, and they have a power, which they often exert, to oppoſe the prince's meaſures with impunity. Theſe ſeparately, (though their influence is

higher, whereas the former become Cadiulaſkiers, or chief juſtices, and Muftis.

much ſtronger when the whole body conſpires, and is actuated by the ſame views,) can, by availing themſelves of the implicit reſpect of the people and the ſoldiery, rouſe them to arms, mark out the point of limitation tranſgreſſed by the prince, and proceed to a formal depoſition; nay, of ſuch high importance is this intermediate power in the ſtate, that a Grand Signor can never be depoſed without their concurrence.

Out of this hereditary order the Mufti is choſen, and can be taken from no other; to this body the Grand Signor appeals for a ſanction in every important act of ſtate, whether relative to peace or war; and in every criminal cauſe, even in thoſe in which his own ſervants are concerned, he cannot take the life of a ſingle ſubject, without the Mufti's decree: their

deſcen-

deſcendants are all Moulahs; they admit no one into their order that is not recommended by ſome extraordinary merit or favour; not even of the firſt Baſhaws's family, except one perhaps in a century, and then not without ſome foundation or claim.

A late declaration furniſhes us with a ſtriking proof of their weight and importance in this government. At the laſt treaty of Belgrade *, the mi-

* Les miniſtres Turcs vouloient, que cette explication vint des puiſſances alliées, ou directement, ou par le canal de la France. C'étoit moins de leur part une affaire *de delicateſſe*, qu' une neceſſité attachée à leur ſituation. Ils diſoient à ce ſujet, que leur gouvernement étoit plus *republicain*, qu'on ne penſoit; qu' à Peterſburg, ou Vienne la déciſion des affaires dépendoit uniquement d'une ou de deux têtes, qui dans leur cabinet prenoient leur parti, ſans être comptables à perſonne; qu' à Conſtantinople au contraire, quelque deſpotique que fût le Grand Seigneur, il ne pouvoit ſouſcrire à un projet de paix, ſans l'avis du Mufti et le conſentement des

niſters

niſters of the Porte declared to the French ambaſſador the grand arcanum of their government, namely, that it was in part republican; that the Grand Seignor could not offer preliminaries of peace without the concurrence of the Moulahs, and that to unite ſo many different ſentiments was ſo difficult a point, that he could not hope to ſucceed, however deſpotic he might be ſuppoſed. I likewiſe remember, that the ſame Kiſlar-Aga, who was beheaded in 1752, com-

gens de loi; que ce ſeroit tenter l'impoſſible, que de vouloir concilier tant de têtes, pour la formation d'un projet de paix incertain et dependant de l'acceptation des autres parties belligerantes; que tout ce qu'on pourroit eſperer de plus heureux, c'etoit de parvenir à la reunion de tant d'eſprits differens ſur ce plan du traité ou les preliminaires, lorſqu' il ſeroit arreté et preſenté au divan avec certitude d' etre accepté par les enemis de la Porte. Hiſt. des Negotiations pour la Paix concluë à Belgrade, Paris, 1768, v. i. p. 157.

plained

plained to an Engliſh merchant, that thoſe cotton heads (meaning the Moulahs) curbed the Grand Seignor's power, and his, and boaſted of the mighty matters they would do, if they could once get rid of them: they indeed at laſt were the cauſe of his being publicly executed for his tyrannical adminiſtration, and repeated violation of their laws.

From the original compact in the Koran, and the other circumſtances that have been laid before the reader, it may, I think, be reaſonably inferred, that if the Turkiſh empire be not in every reſpect a limited monarchy, it borders upon that kind of government; and that there are degrees at leaſt, of limitation in its ſovereignty, no one ſurely can deny.

France and Spain have originally had degrees of limitation in their conſtitutions,

ſtitutions, the one by the ſtates and notables, the other by their cortes. Republics, which are thought to be in ſome meaſure free, confine that freedom within ſuch narrow limits, that it is difficult to aſcertain the barrier between their power and deſpotiſm; they would, however, take it for a high affront, were they to be conſidered in any other light but that of free, and conſequently limited ſtates. A circle of a ſmall diameter is not leſs a circle, than one of a greater; but if we make our own form of government the ſtandard of a limited monarchy, as Dr. Robertſon ſeems to have done, we ſhall find it a model not to be ſurpaſſed, and the only complete ſyſtem of government in the univerſe.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Difficulty of obtaining information in Turky—Character of the Turks.

WRITERS who never viſited foreign * countries, and travellers † who have run thro' immenſe regions with fleeting pace, have given us long accounts of various countries and people; evidently

* Chiſedeck Thevenot, librarian to the French king, was never out of Europe. Gemelli Carreri, a Neapolitan gentleman, who, for many years, never quitted his chamber, being confined by a tedious indiſpoſition, amuſed himſelf with writing a voyage round the world; giving characters of men, and deſcriptions of countries, as if he had really viſited them.

† Tournefort, Paul Lucas, Pococke, &c.

collected from the idle reports and abſurd traditions of the ignorant vulgar, from whom only they could have received thoſe relations, which we ſee accumulated with ſuch undiſcerning credulity.

The Turks have abundantly ſhared this treatment: without taking notice therefore of what even the beſt informed authors may have wrote, I ſhall lay before the reader ſome ſhort obſervations and general ſtrictures on the religion, law, government, and manners of that people, which have reached my own knowledge. If what I advance has no other merit, it will at leaſt have that of ſtrict veracity.

It is extremely difficult to come at information in Turky; enquiries give diſguſt. The Mahometan law is ſo ſtrict and poſitive, that it confines, and binds the underſtanding of its ſectaries within the narrow limits of what

the *Koran* teaches; and renders them incommunicable with the reſt of mankind; eſpecially on the ſubject of religion, or of their own cuſtoms. Strangers who do not, and cannot perfectly underſtand the language, muſt converſe by interpreters; but theſe dare not enter into enquiries they think will give the leaſt offence: on ſuch ſubjects, therefore, they never do, nor will interpret; if they are preſſed, evaſion is their refuge, and both the queſtion they make, and the anſwer they return, will be entirely of their own invention.

It may then be aſked, how are we to be informed in Turky? I muſt anſwer, very imperfectly. A long and continued reſidence in that country, many connections and dependencies amongſt different ranks of people, may lead us to ſome truth; but certain it is, that we have hitherto had but very

imperfect accounts of their government or their manners.

To trace the correct outline of any national character, is, I am ſenſible, a difficult taſk; of the Turks I have premiſed it is peculiarly ſo: I ſhall nevertheleſs make the attempt.

The Turks are in general a ſagacious people; in the purſuit of their own intereſt, or fortune, their attention is fixt on one object, and they perſevere with great ſteadineſs until they attain their purpoſe. They appear in the common intercourſe of life to be courteous and humane, and by no means void of ſentiments of gratitude: perhaps ſome, or all theſe virtues, when extended towards Chriſtians, are practiſed with a view to their own emolument. Intereſt regulates their conduct throughout; where that becomes an object of competition, all attachment of friendſhip, all ties of conſanguinity

ſanguinity are diſſolved; they become deſperate, no barrier can ſtop their purſuit, or abate their rancour towards their competitors. In their tempers they are rather hypochondriac, grave, ſedate, and paſſive; but when agitated by paſſion, furious, raging, ungovernable; deep diſſemblers; jealous, ſuſpicious *, and vindictive beyond con-

The Zonanas, famous Jews, reſi...g at Conſtantinople, are purveyors to the whole body of Janiſſaries throughout the empire; receive all their monies, ſupply them with all neceſſaries, advance caſh to their *Agas*, to all their officers, and even to the common men. The father of the preſent Zonana had the ſame em...yment; he lived to a very advanced age, in high ...eputation; and had acquired great weight and ...nce with that turbulent, formidable corps. T... Mehemet Baſhaw, who, in 1746, had the ſeals c...erred on him as Vizir, raiſed himſelf from a low beginning: two and twenty years before he attained this dignity, he was an ordinary *Katib*, or ſcribe, to that militia; at which time, on ſome diſpute of intereſt with Zonana, he declared, with violent aſſeveration, that if he ever had it in his power, Zonana's head ſhould be the firſt he would

ception; perpetuating revenge through ſucceſſive generations. In matters of religion, they are tenacious, ſupercilious, and moroſe.

ſtrike off: he had been but a few days Vizir, before he accordingly executed his purpoſe. Time could not mitigate his revenge; he took the old man's head off even at the riſk of his own ſecurity; for ſo great was the affection the Janiſſaries bore to Zonana, it was thought this act of violence might cauſe a rebellion.

Turks have been known to come from the frontiers of Perſia into Aſia Minor, and Thrace, to revenge the death of a grandfather, uncle, or couſin, many years after the offence has been committed. It is uſual for the parent to remind his child, and the uncle his nephew, of any injury their family or relations have ſuffered, and excite them continually to revenge. I wiſh it were not true, that in many of the Greek iſlands, among thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, the ſame practice is prevalent.

The chriſtian *Dragomans*, or interpreters, are uncommonly generous to the meaneſt, and the moſt indigent Turk, treating them with deference and politeneſs: when the reaſon is aſked, they tell you, they have ſeen ſo many, from the very loweſt, riſe to the higheſt ſtations, that it is neceſſary to guard againſt their revenge; in truth they fear them; education and obſervation lead them to it.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Mahometan religion—and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

AMONG the many ſingular and whimſical conceits of a * modern writer, we meet with ſome pertinent remarks and ſhrewd obſervations, not always indeed his own; he tells us, "that to judge properly of reli-"gion, we muſt not take it from the "books of thoſe who profeſs it; we "muſt ſee how it is practiſed in a coun-"try where it is eſtabliſhed; we ſhall "then find it a very different thing: "each has its traditions, peculiar in-"terpretations, cuſtoms, prejudices; "theſe make the very eſſence of their

* J. J. Rouſſeau, Em. liv. iv.

"faith, and muſt be combined with "what their books profeſs, before "we can be able to judge of it."

To aſcertain, therefore, the true ſpirit of Mahometaniſm, we muſt appeal to an impartial obſervation of the real influence it has on the practice of its followers.

The Mahometan belief at firſt ſight appears extremely ſimple: what they firſt require from a proſelyte to their religion, is ſolely the repetition of a ſhort creed: *Allah il Allah, Muhamed reſoul Allah*; that is, "There is but one God, "and Mahomet is his prophet." He is then confirmed by ablution and a ſhort prayer, and thus received into the number of true believers. Circumciſion generally follows.

Hence ſome have pretended, and many might be led to think, that it is a religion by no means claſhing violently with reaſon; the great baſis on which

which it is founded being the unity of the Deity.

But this plauſible initiation is only a firſt ſtep, from whence the convert muſt plunge into the belief of all the abſurdities of the *Koran*, every article of which he muſt receive as revelation from God, written in heaven, and ſent down by the Almighty in mercy to his choſen people. He muſt firmly profeſs that repeating this revelation ſo many times a year, obſerving rigorouſly the faſt of *Ramazan*, performing ablutions * on different parts of the body, carefully extending them to certain ſpaces and critical proportions; going

* A *Reis Effendi*, or ſecretary of ſtate, reputed of great ability and learning, ſent for a Chriſtian *Dragoman*, or interpreter, on very urgent buſineſs; he attended, and found the ſecretary deeply engaged in diſpute with his ſon-in-law on the important queſtion, to what exact height their hands or arms, feet or legs, ſhould be waſhed, to render themſelves truly acceptable to God?

the

the pilgrimage to Mecca; drinking a portion of water, in which their prophet's old † robe has been dipt; repeating ſome, or the whole, of the ninety-nine names of the different attributes of the Deity, on a ſtring of ninety-nine beads; are all devotional duties, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to a true believer, that without them the pureſt heart and the ſincereſt faith are inſufficient to recommend him to divine favour; theſe practices he likewiſe holds to be the efficacious and the indiſpenſible means, to atone for all his crimes and immoralities.

Such abſurdities might be looked on as inventions contrived by Mahomet, merely to amuſe and catch his ignorant and ſimple followers. They

† The Grand Signior is guardian of this robe, he himſelf diſtributes the water annually after the *Beiram*, in ſmall phials to all his courtiers, and they do the like to their followers and friends.

would,

would, indeed, be of little conſequence to the moral order of the world, if the concluſions drawn from them by the Turks were not, in the higheſt degree, injurious to the reſt of mankind: for, hence they deduce, that all who are not of their belief, and embrace not the doctrines of their prophet, are * objects of Divine vengeance and abhorrence; conſequently, of their deteſtation, and on whom they are to exerciſe violence, fraud, and rapine.

The force and efficacy of this principle operates ſo effectually, that Mahometans are ever ready to demonſtrate their zeal by ſpurning and ill treating the perſons, plundering the property, and even deſtroying the very exiſtence, of thoſe who profeſs a different religion. If they are candid they will frankly

* Koran, Sale's Tranſl. chap. iii. p. 50. chap. v. p. 83.

confeſs,

confeſs, upon an inquiry, that ſuch is their duty, ſo they are commanded, and that they are convinced it is moſt meritorious in the ſight of God and his prophet.

The inſatiable avarice of the Turks is the potent preſervative of thoſe Chriſtians and Jews who live amongſt them. Theſe are an inexhauſtible treaſure to government; a ſource conſtantly flowing to ſupply the wants of multitudes, even of the powerful and the ambitious: hence, therefore, religious tyranny and the inveterate prejudice of enthuſiaſm, are in ſome ſort ſubdued and vanquiſhed.

The firſt effort of Mahometan education is to root deep in the minds of their children, a high contempt of all other religions; from babes they are carefully taught to diſtinguiſh them by the opprobrious name of *Ghiaour*, or Infidel.

The

The habit becomes ſo forcible by the time they are men, that they can uſe no other term; they follow them with it in every ſtreet, and will often affect puſhing againſt them with the utmoſt contempt.

Men of dignity, or thoſe of a rank above the populace, behave with ſeeming courteſy and complaiſance, though often with a ſort of ſtern ſuperiority; but you are ſcarce diſmiſſed, however civilly, before they will honour you with the high title of *Dumus*, or hog, the animal they hold the moſt odious, deteſtable, and impure of the whole creation.

Take the moſt miſerable Turk, who is dependent on a Chriſtan, and would ſtarve without him; let the latter require of him the ſalute of peace, the *Salem Alek*, or, "Peace be with you," he would ſooner die than give it; he would think himſelf abominated

by

by God, and that his prophet would look down on him with indignation as an infidel and apoſtate; it is reſerved ſolely for Muſſulmans, or true believers. The utmoſt they dare ſay, and many of them think it too much, is *Chair olla*, "Good be with you."

They are enjoined by their religion to extend it by making converts; and to preſs at leaſt three times all thoſe of any other perſuaſion, to embrace it. Some affect a forcible and unbecoming zeal; others more moderate, content themſelves with a mere formal requiſition; but either of them will change their tone, according as they conceive the perſon they addreſs may be uſeful to them or not.

They cannot reject the moſt abject or * wicked mortal, who offers to be-

* Even a profeſt andnotorious murderer, ignorant of their language.

come

come a true believer, though they know his crimes, and that he is wholly ignorant of their religious tenets.

† The real worth of *Baſhawlycks*, or governments, is in proportion to the number of the Chriſtian inhabitants; becauſe the Baſhaws may, with regard

† Between Conſtantinople and Angoura, in Aſia Minor, above three or four hundred villages have been, in a ſeries of years, abandoned by their Chriſtian inhabitants. About Aleppo, and other parts of Syria, greater numbers, much later, have been deſerted. Theſe miſerable Chriſtians do not quit the empire, but emigrate into cities, or or wherever elſe they imagine themſelves leſs expoſed to oppreſſion and violence.

It is but a few years ago, that all the Greek inhabitants of the Morea joined in an *Arz mahzar*, or general repreſentation, againſt their Baſhaw, whoſe oppreſſion and extortions were enormous: the Baſhaw brought the Turkiſh inhabitants for evidences in his favour; and though he had ruined a multitude of Greeks, their complaints were not the immediate cauſe of his removal.

Hence it is, that the moſt opulent Greeks ſecure their property, and often their perſons, at Venice: numbers of them always reſide in that city.

ſo

to them, indulge all their luſt of power, their zeal, and avarice; they may tyrannize, haraſs, and oppreſs them; in ſhort they may ſuck their very vitals without having any reaſon to fear their complaints. But they cheriſh and ſpare thoſe of their own religion; for when Chriſtians repreſent a Baſhaw's miſconduct to the Porte, the Turks are ſure to bear witneſs in his favour.

But ſuch evidence, though it ſerves their turn, is believed by nobody; facts are clear and inconteſtible. Let a man reſide at Conſtantinople, and obſerve the continual fear Chriſtians and Jews live in; the means they uſe to obtain protection from the Turks in power; the horrid crimes and acts of mutual injuſtice, by which they ſeem to be under a neceſſity of purchaſing that favour; in fine, the wrongs and inſults which they are conſtantly obliged to bear: he will thence form a

true

true idea of Mahometaniſm, and a juſt eſtimate of the influence it has on the manners of its votaries.

There is no command in the *Koran* more forcible, nor held in greater reſpect by Muſſulmans, than the pilgrimage to Mecca. A *hadge*, or pilgrim, is always reckoned regenerate; he who has not been at Mecca, laments his ſituation in life, which has not permitted him to perform this duty; and he is anxious for the ſtate of his ſoul. This pilgrimage is, indeed, the main baſis of Mahometaniſm; for whoever performs it regularly, and omits not any part, is confident that he recommends himſelf effectually to the Divine favour, is abſolved from all ſin, and rendered permanently acceptable to the Deity.

Since, therefore, an exact account of the Turkiſh ceremonies performed at

Mecca, muſt convey as juſt an idea of the Mahometan religion, as if we beheld their practice; I ſhall give a ſhort hiſtory of them, extracted from the journal of a true Muſſulman, who ſeems to have noted down every part as ſoon as he had performed it.

'After the month of their faſt, or 'the *Ramazan*, the caravan of Damaſ-'cus, compoſed of the pilgrims from 'Europe and Aſia Minor, the Arabian, 'and the principal one from Cairo, ſet 'out for Mecca. They all have their 'ſtated time of departure, and their re-'gular ſtages. That from Cairo begins 'the journey thirty days after the Rama-'zan; and the conductors ſo regulate 'each day's march, that they arrive in 'forty days; that is, juſt before the '*Corban*, or great ſacrifice.

'Five or ſix days before that feſti-'val, the three caravans, conſiſting of 'about 200,000 men, and 300,000 'beaſts

'beaſts of burthen, unite and en-
'camp at ſome miles from Mecca.

'The pilgrims form themſelves
'into ſmall detachments, and enter
'the town to perform the ceremo-
'nies preparatory to the great ſacri-
'fice. They are led through a ſtreet
'of continual aſcent till they arrive
'at a gate on an eminence, called
'the Gate of Health; from thence
'they ſee the great moſche, which
'encloſes the houſe of Abraham;
'they ſalute it with the profoundeſt
'devotion, repeating twice, *Salem Alek*
'*Iruſoul Alla*; that is, "Peace be with
"the Ambaſſador of God." Thence,
'at ſome diſtance, they mount five
'ſteps, to a large platform faced
'with ſtone, where they offer up their
'prayers. Then they deſcend on the
'other ſide of it, and advance to-
'wards two ſimilar arches, at ſome diſ-
'tance from each other, which they paſs

'thro' with great ſilence and devotion. 'This ceremony muſt be performed 'ſeven times.

'From hence proceeding to the great 'moſche which encloſes the houſe of 'Abraham, they enter the moſche, 'and walk ſeven times round the lit-'tle building contained within it; ſay-'ing, "This is the houſe of God, and "of his ſervant Abraham;" then kiſſ-'ing with great reverence * a black 'ſtone, ſaid to have deſcended white 'from heaven, they go to the famous 'well called † *Zun-Zun*, and plunge

* Our Muſſulman tells us, that this ſtone fell from heaven, accompanied with a voice, ſaying, "Wherever this ſtone falls, there you muſt build "the houſe of God, and from that houſe he will "hear the prayers of ſinners;" that on its deſcent it was as white as ſnow, but it is become black from the touch of ſuch a number of ſinful lips; for the pilgrims are obliged to kiſs it, otherwiſe they cannot be cleared of their ſins.

† This well the angel ſhewed to Agar when ſhe was diſtreſſed in the deſert, and found no water for her ſon Iſhmael; it is called by the Arabs, *Zem-Zem*.

"into

'into it with all their cloaths, conti-
'nually repeating *Toba Alla*, *Toba Alla*,
"Forgiveneſs God, Forgiveneſs God."

'They then drink a draught of that
'fetid turbid water, and depart.

'The duty of bathing and drinking
'they are obliged to paſs through
'once; but thoſe who will gain para-
'diſe before the others, muſt perform
'it once a day, during the ſtay of the
'caravan.

'At fifteen miles from the town of
'Mecca, there is a hill, or little
'mountain, called *Ghiabal Arafata*, or,
"The Mount of Forgiveneſs;" it is a-
'bout two miles in circumference, a
'moſt delicious ſpot; on it Adam and
'Eve met, after the Lord, for their
'tranſgreſſion, had ſeparated them for-
'ty years; here they cohabited, and
'lived in exceſs of happineſs, having
'built a houſe on this mount, called
'*Beith Adam*, i. e. Adam's Houſe. The

'night before, or the eve of the day
'of ſacrifice, the three caravans, each
'ranged in a triangular form, ſur-
'round this mountain; during the
'whole night the people rejoice, cla-
'mour, and riot, and making explo-
'ſions of cannon, muſkets, piſtols, and
'fire-works, with the conſtant ſound of
'drums and trumpets. As ſoon as day
'breaks, a profound ſilence ſucceeds, they
'ſlay their ſheep, offer up their ſacrifice
'on the mountain, with all the demon-
'ſtrations of the moſt profound devotion.

'On a ſudden a ſcheik, or ſantone,
'ruſhes from amidſt them, mounted on
'his camel; he aſcends five ſteps, ren-
'dered practicable for that purpoſe,
'and in a ſtudied ſermon preaches thus
'to the people.'

"Return praiſe and thanks for the
"infinite and immenſe benefits granted
"by God to Mahometans, through the
"mediation of his moſt beloved friend

"and

" prophet Mahomet; for that he has
" delivered them from the ſlavery and
" bondage of ſin and idolatry in which
" they were plunged; has given them
" the houſe of Abraham, from whence
" they can be heard, and their peti-
" tions granted: Alſo the Mountain of
" Forgiveneſs, by means of which they
" can implore him, and obtain pardon
" and remiſſion of all their ſins.

" For that the bleſſed, pious, and
" merciful God, giver of all good gifts,
" commanded his ſecretary Abraham
" to build himſelf a houſe at Mecca,
" whence his deſcendants might pray
" to the Almighty, and their deſires be
" fulfilled.

" On this command, all the moun-
" tains in the world ran, as it were,
" each ambitious to aſſiſt the ſecretary
" of the Lord, and to furniſh a ſtone
" towards erecting the holy houſe; all
" except this poor little mountain,

"which, through mere indigence, could "not contribute a ſtone. It continued "therefore thirty years grievouſly af- "flicted; at length, the eternal God "obſerved its anguiſh, and moved with "pity at its long-ſuffering, broke forth, "ſaying, I can forbear no longer, my "child, your bitter lamentations have "reached my ears, and I now declare, "that all thoſe who henceforth come "to viſit the houſe of my friend Abra- "ham, ſhall not be abſolved of their "ſins, if they do not firſt reverence "you, and celebrate on you the holy "ſacrifice, which I have enjoined "my people through the mouth of "my prophet Mahomet.—Love God— "pray—give alms."—'After this ſer- 'mon, the people ſalute the mountain 'and depart.'

Independent of any inference from this account of the pilgrimage to Mecca; the ineſtimable value and import-

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ance of it in the conception of the people, and even in the eye of government, would have appeared evident to any one preſent at Conſtantinople, when a ſingular accident happened to the caravan returning from Mecca to Damaſcus in the year 1757.

The Baſhaw of Damaſcus, is generally the conductor of the caravan, or *Emir Hadge:* Ezade Baſhaw had enjoyed that poſt many years; he had ſovereign credit amongſt the Arabs, and had married into one of their chief tribes; his poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Damaſcus were incredibly extenſive, but they were equalled by his generoſity. The kiſlar-aga, who was in power the year before, and governed in the ſeraglio, blinded by venality, and not foreſeeing conſequences, removed Ezade Baſhaw to the Baſhawlyck of Aleppo, and named to that of Damaſcus

cus an obſcure man, on whom he had juſt conferred the three tails; and who became of courſe Emir Hadge, or conductor to the caravan. His ſucceeding Ezade Baſhaw was crime ſufficient in the eyes of the principal Arabian tribes; but his refuſing them a ſmall tribute, the payment of which had been ſuſpended by * Ezade Baſhaw's credit, rendered them furious and implacable; they aſſembled to the number of 40,000, attacked the caravan, defeated the Baſhaw of Sidon,

* Some time after, the Porte determined to remove Ezade Baſhaw from Aleppo to Urfa; but he was ſo beloved by the people of Aleppo, that they refuſed admittance to the new Baſhaw, and ſtood on the defenſive.—The Porte paſſively ſubmitted for the preſent, but however engaged Ezade Baſhaw next year to accept the government of Urfa; he was not long there before the vizir Ragib Baſhaw, by ſtratagem, had him ſeized, and made him atone for what they called diſobedience with the loſs of his head.

who

who waited on the road to ſupply it with proviſions, ſlaughtered numbers of the 100,000 pilgrims who compoſed it, and plundered all their effects.

Never was conſternation greater, among all ranks of people, than upon hearing of this event; when the fugitive ſoldiers, who guarded the caravan, returned to Damaſcus, they fell a ſacrifice to the citizens fury, as betrayers of the faith; at Conſtanſtinople they looked upon their religion as ſubverted, and the gates of ſalvation locked. The depreſſion was inconceivably great, and univerſal; grief and deſpair were vented only in ſullen murmurs; no one dared to ſpeak out; the ſultan was *Ourſus*, Unfortunate: he was ſcarce ſafe on his throne. The argument in his favour, was, that this miſchief had happened

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in the reign * of ſultan Oſman his predeceſſor: it excuſed the prince, but did not abate the anguiſh, or calm the perturbation of mind of his ſubjects, anxious for the ſtate of their ſouls. The ſultan himſelf, not leſs agitated, conferred continually with the vizir; and every precaution was taken to ſecure tranquillity in the capital: but what made his concern the greater, was the loſs of ſome ſacred relicks of Mahomet; by the diſplay of which

* Upon ſultan Muſtapha's acceſſion, the kiſlar-aga, who, in ſultan Oſman's reign, had removed Ezade Baſhaw from Damaſcus, was, for various miſdemeanors, baniſhed by the vizir to Rhodes; but on diſcovering that his venality and corruption had principally occaſioned this deplorable event; the miniſtry, glad to exculpate themſelves and appeaſe the people, by fixing the odium on ſuch an object, ſent for his head, which was placed between the Seraglio gates, with a large label on it, expreſſing, *That he was a traitor to the faith, and the cauſe of that ſacrilegious attack of the* Arabs *on the* Mecca *caravan.*

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on the prophet's birth-day, he had propoſed to augment the devotion, and heighten the ſolemnity with which that feſtival is celebrated.

This pilgrimage, of ſuch ſpiritual importance, has been the cauſe of all the wars between the Perſians and the Ottomans; for the latter, who are followers of Omar, think the Perſians, or the ſect of Aly, unworthy of ſalvation, and no poſſible objects of divine favour. They would not therefore, were it in their power to prevent it, permit them to enter Mecca, and defile that ſacred way, deſtined for the orthodox only; but the ſect of Aly will not tamely ſuffer the road of Paradiſe to be thus barred againſt them. No earthly claim could excite ſuch cruel vengeance, or cauſe ſuch horrible effuſion of blood, as this diſpute has occaſioned amongſt the different ſects of Mahometans.

Hence it is, that the Perſians in all their negotiations of peace with the Ottoman Porte, inſiſt on a full and entire liberty for the followers of Aly to go unmoleſted on the pilgrimage to Mecca. This important ſtipulation makes up almoſt the whole of the treaty of 1746 *

* The emperor of Morocco, with whom the Grand Seignor has ſcarce any connexion, and who is almoſt unknown at Conſtantinople, ſent very lately two ambaſſadors, with preſents of great value, merely and ſolely to ſecure this pilgrimage to his ſubjects.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Sects.

WHILST there are men, there will be a diverſity of opinions and ſentiments, eſpecially concerning matters of faith.

The herd of mankind are, indeed, familiarized with any religion; the nurſe throws in the firſt ideas, which the parent or prieſt confirms, and education rivets immoveably; thus is religion grafted upon nature, and becomes inalienable from the man.

But this remark, though generally true, is not univerſally ſo; many will think for themſelves: and of this number, ſome prompted by enthuſiaſm and intemperate zeal, others by vanity and falſe ambition, will be

led to promulge their private conceptions, either on a preſumption of truth, or the affectation of ſingularity, and of differing in opinion from the reſt of mankind.

It is abſurd for laws to pretend to bridle thought, or to inflict pains and penalties on the underſtanding: the more the opinions of mankind are reſtrained, the more they become obſtinate, tenacious, and determined; till at length they contract a deſperate contempt of all laws and government, and ſet them at defiance.

We ought therefore by no means to be ſurpriſed, when we find a variety of ſects among Mahometans: no religion from the beginning of the world has been exempt from them. Let them exiſt, provided the moral order of ſociety is not diſturbed; enthuſiaſm will ſometimes rage with greater zeal than wiſe men would wiſh; but gene-

rally

rally it blazes, and is at laſt extinguiſhed like an *ignis fatuus*. Thus, indeed, the Turks ſeem to think; executions, tortures, pains, and penalties inflicted on account of religion, are never heard of among them.

If the rites of the eſtabliſhed religion are performed, and a convenient conformity obſerved, they enquire no farther about it.

*Religious diſputes are unknown amongſt the Turks, though they have

* Mr. Reland, in the preface to his *Relig. Mahomet.* encourages the ſtudy of the Arabian language as a means of converting the Mahometans to the Chriſtian religion; by enabling us to demonſtrate to them the falſhood and impoſture of their own. He acknowledges, that content with their *Koran*, they entrench themſelves ſecure from all aſſaults of arguments, on the implicit belief of its doctrines, and will not diſpute: That, nevertheleſs, they formerly diſputed concerning religion, though in his own time they could not. He ſupports his opinion by quotations from Sollerus, who tells us,

a diverſity of opinions. They have not the art of printing; and I am apt

that Raimond Lully had publickly diſputed with Turks in Africa; and from Maracci, who relates, that many miſſionaries of the church of Rome had done it with ſucceſs. And farther, * Guadagnola informs us, that a Romaniſt having written a book called *Speculum verum oſtendens*, or, The Mirror of Chriſtianity; Akmed ben Zin Ulabadin anſwered him, under the title of *Poliſher of the Mirror*, &c. and that Abbé Renaudot, in his Hiſtory of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, has collected from ſeveral libraries manuſcript diſputations, of Jews with Turks, of Monks with Jews; of the Metropolite of Niſibis in Diarbekir with Abulkacem; and, ſtrange to relate, of Abulcoza, or Abucaza's Apologetical Conference in favour of the Chriſtian religion, before the calif Almamon, by Ebnaſal, &c.

I ſhall only obſerve, that the Turks are in great meaſure invariable in their manners and cuſtoms; whence in general I muſt conclude, that their conduct in religious matters remains on much the ſame plan as that of their anceſtors. They are bred to an implicit faith in their *Koran*, ſo that even a doubt of its veracity is criminal; this Reland confeſſes: but he ſurely forgot that Raimond Lully's firſt ſer-

* Profeſſor of the Arabian language at Rome in the laſt century.

to think, the difficulty of tranſcribing numerous volumes, and the apprehen-

mon brought on him martyrdom, at the age of eighty, in Mauritania. The fate of St. Stephen prevented him from preaching a ſecond time.

He has likewiſe forgot that the Romiſh miſſionaries from the beginning, and to this day, have dealt merely in impoſition and pious fraud: that in the accounts they ſend to the Propaganda at Rome, they conſtantly magnify their own merit and ſucceſs, hoping, by that means, to continue in the liberty they enjoy during their miſſion; or if that cannot be effected, to obtain higher eſtimation and ſuperior employment in their convents at home, ſo as to render that ſlavery tolerable, which they generally repent of having ſubmitted to, and which they aſcribe either to their own childiſh inexperience and folly, or to forcible means employed by their parents, deſirous of eaſing an overburthened family; or elſe to the intrigue and cajolery of ſome cunning monk. All this is evident to any unprejudiced man who has converſed with them in Turkey.

Were the apologies Reland mentions, ever publiſhed or promulged to Mahometans? Did not the author of the *Mirror* transform himſelf into the *Poliſher?* I dare affirm, if they were not the work of the ſame hand, they were of the ſame ſect; and that theſe Conferences were as unknown among Ma-

ſion of being betrayed by the tranſcribers, may be a principal cauſe that the reveries of individuals have not been diffuſed amongſt numbers.

Whatever enthuſiaſtic refinements, or religious whimſies, therefore, ſeize a Turk, they centre in himſelf, and ſerve at moſt to entertain the ſmall circle of his intimate friends.

There is, however, one ſect in Turkey, principally at Salonica, of a very particular kind: it has ſprung from one Sabati Sevi, a Jew of the laſt century, who pretended to inſpiration and the Meſſiahſhip, and had many followers. They profeſs publickly the Mahometan religion, and

hometans, as the authors of them are at preſent to us. And as there is not a miſſionary, or Chriſtian, who dares now write, or ſpeak to a Turk about religion; ſo there never was in thoſe times of ſtill greater barbariſm, any one who could have ventured to do either, without undergoing Lully's fate.

retain privately the Jewiſh rites, much on the principle of the Ebionites, among the firſt Chriſtians: they intermarry, inhabit together in the ſame part of the town, and never mix with Mahometans, except on buſineſs and commerce, or in the moſches: they never frequent a ſynagogue, nor acknowledge their ſchiſm. It is difficult to conceive how they remain unnoticed by the Turks; or rather, it ſhews with how eaſy a compoſition the latter are content in theſe matters. An outward profeſſion of their own religion compenſates for the private exerciſe of the other; though were theſe Jewiſh Mahometans to profeſs both, they would be inſtantly made a public example: death is the doom of an apoſtate.

Whatever other ſects the Mahometans may have among them, their difference is in trifles, and, as we have

already obſerved, occaſions no diſputes about religion: and by what can be diſcovered, they abound more among the *Sibiites*, or Perſians, than among the *Sunites*, or orthodox Turks. Poſſibly, the clear, light Perſian clime, is better adapted to produce tranſcendant flights of imagination, than either the groſſer Aſiatick, or the Thracian clime; and the exalted Perſian language is fitter for that purpoſe, than the mixed Turkiſh dialect, compounded, perhaps, of the very dregs of the Perſian and Arabian tongues.

It is impoſſible, we are told, to attain in any other language the immenſe ſublime of Perſian poetry; and, indeed, as far as I could find, almoſt impoſſible for the beſt tranſlator to convert it even into common ſenſe. It ſeems therefore no wonder, ſince they abound with numberleſs poets, raiſed by the higheſt vein of enthuſiaſm, that the

the ſame ſpirit ſhould lead them into extravagant, enthuſiaſtic, unconfined flights about religion; and the rather, as they have not the heathen deities to celebrate as the ſubject of their ſong.

But certain it is; that there are among the Turks many philoſophical minds. They have the whole ſyſtems of the Ariſtotelian and Epicurean philoſophy tranſlated into their own language; and as they find the latter, which they call the Democritic, cuts more effectually at the root, and is more conformable to their preſent indolence, eaſe, and ſecurity, they generally adopt it; ſo that, perhaps, without their knowing it, they are at once perfect atheiſts and profeſſed Mahometans.

Superſtition and its train are a true baſis for atheiſm; there is no medium; from the one extreme the mind is forcibly, tho' imperceptibly, driven to the

other: hence the Turks eaſily plunge into it; and hence amongſt ſome nations profeſſing Chriſtianity, Materialiſm is now, with certain ranks of people, the prevailing doctrine.

CHAP. IV.

Of the church-government of the Mahometans, and their civil law.

CHURCH government in Turkey, notwithſtanding the miſtakes authors have committed on that ſubject, ſeems not to be involved in much intricacy. At the inſtitution of Mahometaniſm, it appears, as if it had centered in the *Mufti*, and the order of *Moulahs*, out of which he muſt be choſen. It is difficult to ſay what ſhare they have in it at preſent; they ſeem, however, to be conſidered by moſt as eccleſiaſtics, and the *Mufti* as

their

their head; although they are generally and really regarded by the Turks rather as chiefs of the law and expounders of it; and this, indeed, is their viſible and moſt known office: ſo that whatever may have been the original inſtitution of the order of *Moulahs*, if they were at firſt merely churchmen or divines, I think they muſt be conſidered as partaking little of that character at preſent.

Thoſe who really act as divines are the *Imaums*, or pariſh-prieſts, who poſitively officiate in, and are ſet aſide for, the mere ſervice of the moſches. * Their *Scheiks* are the chiefs of their *Derviſhes*, or monks, and form reli-

* The *Scheiks* frequently preach with virulence and invective againſt government; thence, or from the regard for religion, real or affected, they are mightily careſſed and reſpected by the greateſt men in office: the vizirs have generally a favourite one about them, who often behaves with uncommon freedom and aſſurance.

gious

gious communities, or orders, eſtabliſhed on ſolemn vows: they conſecrate themſelves merely to religious offices, domeſtic devotion, and public prayer and preaching: there are four of theſe orders, the *Bektaſhi*, *Mevelevi*, *Kadri*, and *Seyah* *, who are very numerous throughout the empire.

* It may, perhaps, be proper to inſert ſome account of theſe four orders of Mahometan monks.

1. The *Begtaſhi* were founded by one Hagi Bektaſh, whoſe ſepulchre is now in a village called Beſicktaſh, on the European ſide of the Boſphorus, near Galata; the Turks pay it great reſpect and veneration.

Theſe monks, according to their inſtitution, may marry. They are chiefly met with in country towns or villages, and are obliged to travel through the empire; they muſt give the *Gazel* and *Eſma* to all the Muſſulmans they meet, and to them only. The *Gazel* is an affecting tone of voice, which they apply in a ſpecial ſenſe to the Divine love. The *Eſma* is the invocation of one of the names of God, of which the Turks have one thouſand and one.

The *Mevelevi* take their name from their founder Mevelana. Theſe turn round in acts of devotion

No

No church-revenues, as far as I could learn, are appropriated to the

with ſuch velocity for two or three hours ſucceſſively, that not even a trace of their countenance is perceivable by a ſpectator. Muſic is their delight, particularly a flute made of an Indian reed; they live in their monaſtery, profeſs poverty and humility, appear exceeding modeſt and kind to ſtrangers, receive all thoſe of any religion who come to viſit them, and accept alms. They treat ſtrangers of any nation with coffee; and if a Muſſulman's feet, or ſandals, ſhould be dirty, they offer immediately to waſh them. They have a convent in Pera.

3. The *Kadri* are a ſingular order, whoſe inſtitute and devotion conſiſts in macerating their bodies; their looks are diſtracted and irregular; they walk the ſtreets almoſt naked, rarely covering the thighs; they hold their hands joined together, as if at prayer, except when they dance, which religious exerciſe they will continue many hours, and ſometimes the whole day, repeating inceſſantly with uncommon vehemence, *Hu! Hu! Hu! Hu!* one of their names of the Deity, until at laſt, as if they were in violent rage or phrenſy, they fall to the ground foaming at the mouth, and bathed with ſweat from every part of the body. This order was once aboliſhed, but is ſince revived. They have a convent between Pera and St. Demetry, and receive all thoſe who go to ſee them.

parti-

particular uſe of the *Moulahs*: the *Imaums* are the eccleſiaſtics in immediate pay.

4. The *Seyah* are like the Indian *Fakirs*, mere vagabonds; they have monaſteries; but when once they get abroad, they ſeldom return. They obtain eaſily a leave of abſence from their ſuperior, on condition of ſending a certain quantity of proviſions or money to the convent. They are, indeed, inſolent ſturdy beggars, who will not be refuſed. When they enter a town or a village, either in the public praying or at the market-place; they ſtand up, and cry moſt vehemehtly, *Good God! ſend me a thouſand dollars! or, a thouſand meaſures of rice!* &c. The people then flock about them, giving alms; and when they find they have exhauſted the charity of the place, they march on to another town, and repeat the ſame practice, until they have collected the ſum impoſed on them by the ſuperior of their convent.

In general, theſe itinerant monks are a ſet of determined villains and thieves, have influence only on the low ſuperſtitious part of the vulgar, on which conſideration chiefly, it ſhould ſeem, they are countenanced by the Turks of faſhion, who, though they think them no eſſential part of the Mahometan inſtitute, careſs and encourage the ſuperiors of this order, or ſuch amongſt them whoſe pretenſion to more eminent ſanctity has gained an aſcendance over the minds of the common people.

Mecca

Mecca and Medina abſorb large ſums. The repairing and beautifying their moſc'es, ſupplying their lamps with oil, and furniſhing numberleſs implements for their uſe; paying many lay dependants who attend that ſervice; ſupporting the *Mechtz*, *Medreſſes*, or publick ſchools; the *Immarets*, or hoſpitals for the ſick, incurable, or mad, are the other channels in which the remainder of that vaſt and enormous income is expended.

Moſt writers on the Mahometan religion, deriving their knowledge from Arabian authors of the very early ages of the *Hegira*, have, I think, too poſitively blended and confounded it with their preſent law: for tho' the Turkiſh government of the church has apparently remained immutable; yet while the chiefs, through neceſſity on the encreaſe of the empire, have kept up the

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ſame form and power, they have imperceptibly ſeparated the different functions of religion and law. The *Koran* containing political inſtitutes as well as religious dogmas, was probably ſufficient to regulate the civil affairs of Mahomet's firſt followers, a few Arabians, as remarkable for their poverty and the ſimplicity of their manners, as for their courage and enthuſiaſm. And the immediate ſucceſſors of theſe men, poſſeſſed with a religious veneration for this production of their prophet, continued to blend together in the ſame perſon, the functions of the prieſt and that of the judge; and thus confounded for a time religious with civil rights.

But when his followers became numerous, and their dominion was ſpread over many opulent and extenſive regions, not only religious orders ſprung up,

up, to eaſe the Hierarch of what he thought the drudgery of his office; but alſo law-digeſters aroſe, who finding the doctrines of the *Koran* inſufficient for the great end of government, viz. the preſerving of good order, and the well-being of civil ſociety, have remedied its defects without appearing to derogate from its authority, or riſquing to alienate the leaſt part of that implicit obedience, and profound veneration, which the people paid to it. For under pretence of compiling commentaries, as a ſimple extenſion of the angel's or the prophet's ideas, but ſtill keeping to the very language of the *Koran*; they have provided volumes of civil law, equal and ſimilar to the Code, Pandects, or Digeſt; with interpretations as clear and copious as thoſe of *Cujas* and *Domat*.

Abou

Abou Hanife is one of the firſt and chief of thoſe who have thus commented on the *Koran*: his books, and thoſe of his diſciples, are the rule of law under the Turkiſh government in Europe and Aſia.

In this manner the original inſtitutes were augmented, ſo far as related to civil and criminal caſes; indeed it muſt have been neceſſary to form new regulations, when conqueſt, riches, and luxury, had introduced new crimes, and new ſubjects of contention. And thus, it ſhould ſeem, the eccleſiaſtical and the civil firſt became, in ſome meaſure, diſtinct and ſeparate departments; the *Moulahs*, *Muftis*, &c. preſiding in the courts of juſtice, and the *Imaums*, &c. officiating in the moſches; though ſtill the exact boundaries of each juriſdiction are hard to be defined.

The

The ingenious preſident Monteſquieu*, led by precarious authorities, has excluded the Turks from all right to private property; from all claim to ſucceſſions; from all inheritances in families; and, indeed, from all the advantages of the † civil law. In ſhort, he ſeems to think, that the Grand Seignor's deſpotiſm ſwallows up every right of the ſubject throughout that empire.

When I ſee the excellent reaſoning, and the many judicious conſequences deduced from ſuch erroneous principles, by ſo acute and penetrating a genius; I cannot help thinking it a ſtriking inſtance of our propenſity to error, and of the fallacy which we ſometimes find even in the moſt plauſible arguments.

* L'Eſprit des Lois, lib. v. cap. xiv. & xv.
† L'Eſprit des Lois, lib. vi. c. i.

Without appealing to fact, the ſingle chapter in the *Koran* intitled * *Women*, would have ſhewn him how ſucceſſions in families, and to male, or female, or wives, are fixed and regulated by the prophet; and conſequently, how fat private property is ſecured by law beyond the reach, and out of the power, of the ſultan.

The other part needed but a ſingle enquiry; he might eaſily have been informed by what method they actually determine cauſes in their courts of juſtice; and what † books they uſe

* Chap. IV. in Sale's Tranſlation.

† *Extract out of a Law-Book uſed in the* Turkiſh *Courts, written by* Hafne. [Chap. of Sales.]

Sales are made when the one conſents and the other accepts, explaining himſelf by the preterit of the Indicative Mood; now when any one of the contracting parties conſents to ſell or to buy, the other ſhall be at liberty to accept, or not, ſo long ae they remain in the place where the bargain is to be made.

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in Turkey as authorities for their legal deciſions: he would have found

But if the one conſents, and the other departs from that place before accepting, the bargain is void.

The ſale is concluded when both poſitively agree; then neither the one nor the other can be off, except ſome fault or defect ſhould be found in the thing ſold, or the buyer had not ſeen it.

It is not neceſſary to know the quantity of goods expoſed to ſale, in order to bargain for the whole; for though a price is ſpecified, the ſale is not valid until the quantity and quality are known.

Sales may be for ready money, or on credit, fixing the time of payment; and when the ſpecie in which the goods are to be paid for is not ſpecified, it is to be underſtood the moſt current money of the country; but if there are different ſpecies of current-money, the ſale is not valid without fixing the particular ſpecie.

All eatables may be ſold, and all ſorts of grain by the eſtabliſhed *meaſure*, or without it; either by taking a vaſe or tub of any kind, the exact contents of which are unknown; or by weight, taking a ſtone for a weight, the real weight of which is unknown.

Selling a quantity of any eatables at a drachm the *Caſiz*, the ſale ſhall be valid for one *Caſiz*, accord-

ſeveral, which formally ſtipulate, and fix, the terms and legality of a pur-

ing to the opinion of Abu Hanife: but when the ſeller declares how many *Cafiz* there are, or may be, then according to his two diſciples the whole is ſold.

He that ſells a flock of ſheep, at a drachm a ſheep, the ſale will not hold for the whole flock.

In like manner for a piece of ſtuff, or ſilk, at a drachm the ell, he muſt mention the number of ſheep or ells.

If a quantity of eatables of a hundred *Cafiz* is ſold at a hundred drachms, and there are found leſs; the buyer will be at liberty to take them in paying only for what there is, or he may refuſe the whole: but if there are more than an hundred meaſures, or *Cafiz*, he muſt reſtore the ſurplus to the ſeller.

But he that buys a piece of ſtuff, or ſilk, on the footing of ten ells at ten drachms, or, one hundred cubits of land at a hundred drachms; if leſs is found, he is at liberty to take them for the ſaid ſum, or to leave them; if there are more than what is agreed for, they belong to him, and the ſeller has no right to the ſurplus.—But if the ſeller declares that the land contains a hundred cubits, and that the price is a hundred drachms, or a drachm the cubit; in that caſe, if there are more or leſs, the buyer is at liberty to take it at a drachm the cubit, or to leave it.

If a bale of ſilks or ſtuffs, ſaid to contain fifty pieces, is ſold at fifty aſpers, or at one aſper the

chaſe,

chaſe, whether of lands, houſes, corn, cattle, or merchandize. From theſe it may be preſumed, he would have acquired a notion of Turkiſh deſpotiſm very different from that which he has adopted.

The *Moulahs*, however, whether conſidered as churchmen or lawyers, enjoy great immunities, which deſcend uninterruptedly to their families. Their

piece, and that there ſhould be found fewer pieces; the buyer may take what the bale contains at an aſper the piece, or he may refuſe the whole; but if there are more than fifty pieces, the bargain is void.

When a houſe is ſold, all the buildings belonging to it are included in the bargain, tho' not expreſly mentioned; or on the ſale of a piece of ground, the palm, or other trees ſtanding in it ſhall be included, though not ſpecified; but the herbs, or other greens, growing in it are not comprehended.

If the palm, or other trees are ſold with the fruit on them, the fruit will belong to the ſeller, unleſs they are particularized in the bargain; but then the buyer can oblige him to gather the fruit immediately.

If fruit is ſold on the tree, whether it proves good or bad, the bargain is valid, and the buyer muſt gather it immediately.

lives and eſtates are generally ſecure; their greateſt puniſhment in office, even for malverſation, is exile; and if they are not too obnoxious to government, they may ſometimes compound for that by a pecuniary donation. All the profitable employments of the law are in their hands; they are ſent out as *Muftis*, or judges, throughout the chief towns of the empire, whence they are promoted to the high office of *Cadileſquier*, or chief juſtice, either of *Romelia*, or of *Anatolia*; that is, of Europe, or of Aſia; and at laſt to that of *Sheik Iſlam*, or *Mufti*, at Conſtantinople.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Koran.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into a minute analyſis of the ſeveral doctrines of the *Koran*, but confine myſelf to ſome general obſervations.

MR. SALE has given us an elaborate account of that book, in the Preliminary Diſcourſe to his excellent tranſlation. I am, however, ſorry to ſay, that he frequently diſcovers an inclination to apologize for it; and rather endeavours to reconcile and palliate the numerous abſurdities he meets with, than to expoſe them in the light they deſerve. One advantage, however, we derive from this humour of his; we may be certain he has not added an abſurdity to thoſe he found,

nor given any of them a more ridiculous dreſs than they wear in the original.

Some heterodox manufacturers of wit, deſirous of appearing ſingular, tho' at the expence of common ſenſe, if not of common honeſty, have not ſcrupled to profeſs themſelves admirers of the *Koran*, have extolled its doctrines, and dared even to put them on a parallel with thoſe eſtabliſhed by our ſacred writings.

Mahomet, ſuperior to his countrymen in parts and ſcience, reſolved to be ſupreme in command. To effect this, he had but one game to play, which was to impoſe himſelf on them as a prophet divinely inſpired, and his book as an immediate revelation from the Almighty. In this he could inculcate what doctrines, and aſſign himſelf what pre-eminence and authority he pleaſed: in ſhort, his book was of

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the utmoſt conſequence to him. He therefore, very artfully, took for its prototype truth itſelf, the Moſaic and Chriſtian revelations: For in his travels to Egypt, as well as at home among the Chriſtians and Jews in Arabia, who were fugitives on account of religion, he muſt have obſerved the force with which theſe genuine revelations had captivated the minds of men; and for this reaſon, without impugning either, he declares the latter of them to be only a ſequel of the former, and that his own is a continuation of both, and completes the whole diſpenſation of Divine Providence. This he has judiciouſly ſeaſoned with what he knew would render it moſt acceptable to his countrymen, and appears moſt predominant in himſelf, the indulgence of their luſt and avarice in this world, and a moſt ſenſual paradiſe in the next.

His

His firſt ſtep was to perſuade his ignorant Arabians, that the *Koran* is an extract taken from the great book, in which, at the creation of the world, the Divine decrees were all written and depoſited at the ſame time in one of the ſub-firmamental heavens; and that from thence it was faithfully delivered to him, verſe by verſe, by the angel Gabriel. Hence, in his chapter, *Al Kadr*, he tells them himſelf, from the mouth of the Almighty, "Verily, "we ſent down the *Koran* in the "night of *Al Kadr*; and what ſhall "make thee underſtand how excellent "the night of *Al Kadr* is? The night "of *Al Kadr* is better than a thouſand "months: therein do the angels de- "ſcend, and the ſpirit Gabriel alſo, "by permiſſion of their Lord, with his "decrees concerning every matter. It is "peace until the viſiting of the morn*."

* Sale's Tranſl. Of Divine decrees, ch. xcvii.

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On this paſſage principally, is founded the claim of the *Koran* to a celeſtial origin, and to the character of the all-beauteous and all-perfect work of the Creator; and hence that moſt profound veneration, amounting almoſt to adoration, which the Mahometans pay to it. They fancy a chapter or verſe can cure them of all diſeaſes, preſerve them from all accidents, or external evils; prolong life, and render it healthful and proſperous. A thorough ablution is neceſſary before they preſume to touch this ſacred book; the ſight of an infidel pollutes it; and when they read they muſt hold it above their middle, to preſerve it from approaching the region of impurity and defilement.

The Turks are eternally puzzled to know when, or which night, this *Al Kadr* may be: they think it muſt be in *Ramadan*; and many enthuſiaſts imagine them-

themſelves to have, at that time, extatic communications with the angelic ſpirits who deſcend from the heavenly ſpheres.

Mahomet, though ſo crafty and ſo able an impoſtor, did not, however, dare pretend to miracles, that great criterion of Divine truth, and main baſis of thoſe genuine revelations he endeavoured to imitate, and which he confeſſes to have been wrought * in atteſtation of their Divine origin. Many urged him to produce them; many aſked of him ſigns; and he ſeems in ſundry parts of the *Koran*, more embarraſſed to evade the charge of impoſtor, incurred by not manifeſting his vocation by theſe ſigns, than to eſtabliſh his doctrines. His own uncle and relations ſeemed, on that account, to deteſt his impoſition; and it is evi-

* Sal. Tranſl. ch. v. 27.

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dent from the text, that he had often found his very women rebellious; it is probable they likewiſe expected miracles: for he tells us, there were only four of them good and obedient.

When he is preſſed for this proof of his miſſion, he ſhifts the want of it on the will of the Deity; "* They (the "Infidels) have ſworn, ſays he, by "God, by the moſt ſolemn oath, that "if a ſign come unto them they would "certainly believe therein: verily, ſigns "are in the power of God alone, and "he permitteth you not to under-"ſtand, that when they come, they "(the Infidels) will not believe; and "we will turn aſide their hearts and "their ſight from the truth, as they "believed not therein the firſt time; "and we will leave them to wander in "their error." He then recommends

* Ch. vi. entitled Cattle, p. 110. Sal. Tranſl.

them

them to believe implicitly in the *Koran.*

On another occaſion he uſes the ſame dexterity. " * The Infidels ſay, unleſs "a ſign be ſent down unto him (to "Mahomet) from his Lord, we will "not believe. The Lord's anſwer; "Thou art commiſſioned *to be a preacher* "*only*, and not *a worker of miracles*; and "unto every people *hath a director been* "*appointed.* God knoweth what every "female beareth in her womb, and "what the wombs want or exceed of "their due time or number of young." The concluſion of this paragraph is curious; it is a ſhort digreſſion upon wombs, which leaves the beginning upon miracles quite out of ſight.

By theſe quotations we may perceive what evidence his external ſigns of Divine miſſion carried with them; and

* Ch. xiii. entit. Thunder, p. 201.

as to the internal, they are ſo far from recommending it, that the moſt of his doctrines and precepts, thoſe properly his own, are trivial and unworthy the ſlighteſt attention. The precepts and commands copied from the Moſaic diſpenſation, of which there are many, or thoſe from the Chriſtian, may command ſome regard; although thoſe from the latter ſavour of the corrupt channel they have paſſed through; for if he preaches the duties of benevolence, and the forgiveneſs of injuries, it is not with that univerſal, beneficent, diffuſed principle, recommended in the goſpels indiſcriminately to all mankind: he confines theſe virtues undoubtedly to the narrow limits of his own ſect. For they are neither to live nor commune with unbelievers; and ſo far from being enjoined to forgive them, they are commanded to injure and

and to ſubdue them: and God knows, it is but too evidently ſhewn by their practice how much they honour the precept.

It is, indeed, a pleaſant part of the *Koran*, which repreſents the Divine communications deſcending ſo low as to regulate the minuter intereſts, family concerns, and amorous paſſions of Mahomet; it muſt give us a pretty juſt notion both of the prophet and his people, as well as of thoſe ſceptics who have expreſſed ſo favourable an opinion of his book. For illuſtration, let us hear the awful commands of the Almighty impoſed on the prophet's rebellious wives, &c. on ſo important an occaſion as the vexatious demand they made for fine clothes: to ſatisfy this demand was a difficulty, perhaps, too arduous for the power of man alone to overcome.

"* O Prophet, ſay unto thy wives, "If ye ſeek the preſent life and the "*pomp thereof*, come, I will make a "handſome proviſion for you, and I "will diſmiſs you with an honourable "diſmiſſion; but if you ſeek God, "and his apoſtle, and the life to come, "verily, God hath prepared for ſuch "of you as work righteouſneſs a great "reward. O wives of the prophet, "whoſoever of you ſhall commit a "manifeſt wickedneſs, the puniſhment "thereof ſhall be doubled unto her "two-fold; and this is eaſy with "God: but whoſoever of you ſhall be "obedient unto God and his apoſtle, "and ſhall do what is right, he will "give her her reward twice, and we "have prepared for her an honour-"able proviſion in *Paradiſe*. O wives "of the Prophet, ye are not as other

* Koran, ch. xxxiii. p. 345, 356. Sal. Tranſl.

" women; if ye fear God, be not too
" complaiſant in ſpeech, leſt he ſhould
" covet, in whoſe heart is a diſeaſe
" of incontinence. — Sit ſtill in your
" houſes, and ſet not yourſelves forth
" with the oſtentation of the former
" time of ignorance. Obſerve the ap-
" pointed time of prayer, give alms
" —and obey God and his apoſtle;
" for God deſireth only to remove
" from you the abominations of va-
" nity, &c."

Termagant and rebellious wives were the leaſt puniſhment that a man of the prophet's inſatiable paſſion deſerved; inſtead of four, the number he allowed his followers, and ſurely ſufficient to break the eaſe, and deſtroy the happineſs of any one man living, he again brings down the Deity to grant him an unlimited permiſſion, and even to direct his amours. If he had been ſmothered under

der them all, it would have been a juſt death for ſuch extravagant lubricity. *Satia te ſanguine*, was the ſaying of the Scythian queen, when ſhe plunged Cyrus's head into a veſſel of blood.—But let us hear again his revelation.

"* O Prophet, we have allowed thee "thy wives, unto whom thou haſt "given thy dower; and alſo the ſlaves "which thy right hand poſſeſſeth, of "the booty which God hath granted "thee; and the daughters of thy un- "cle, and the daughters of thy aunts, "both on thy father's ſide, and on thy "mother's ſide, who have fled with "thee from *Mecca*; and any other be- "lieving woman, if ſhe give herſelf un- "to the prophet, in caſe the prophet "deſireth to take her to wife. This is "a peculiar privilege *granted* unto thee "above the reſt of the true believers:

* Koran, ch. xxxiii. Sal. Tranſl. p. 348, 349.

" we know what we have ordained
" them concerning their wives, and the
" ſlaves whom their right hands poſ-
" ſeſs, leſt it ſhould be deemed a crime
" in thee *to make uſe of the privilege granted*
" *thee*; for God is gracious and mer-
" ciful. Thou mayſt poſtpone the *turn*
" *of ſuch of thy wives as thou ſhalt pleaſe*, in
" *being called to thy bed*; and thou mayſt
" take unto thee her whom thou ſhalt
" pleaſe, and her whom thou ſhalt
" deſire, of thoſe whom thou ſhalt have
" before rejected, and it ſhall be no
" crime in thee; this will be more
" eaſy, that they *may be intirely content*, and
" may not be grieved, but may be well
" pleaſed with what thou ſhalt give
" every one of them.——O true be-
" lievers, enter not the houſe of the
" prophet, unleſs it be permitted you
" to eat meat with him, without wait-
" ing his convenient time.—And when
" ye aſk of the prophet's wives what

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" ye may have occaſion for, aſk *it* of " them from behind a curtain; this " will be more pure for your hearts " and their hearts. Neither is it fit " for you to give any uneaſineſs to the " apoſtle of God, or to marry his " wives after him for ever; for this " would be a grievous thing in the " ſight of God."

Mahomet's paradiſe flowing with delicious waters, planted with the moſt odoriferous trees and ſhrubs; but above all, the exalted enjoyment of black-eyed nymphs, would lead me farther than I intend.

The few quotations produced here, merely to ſave the reader the trouble of recurring to the *Koran* itſelf, may ſufficiently evince what marks of ſanctity, and of a divine miſſion, we muſt expect from it: they will likewiſe demonſtrate, how abject an idea the falſe prophet, and his ignorant followers, muſt

have had of the Divine perfections; how contradictory paſſages ſuch as theſe muſt be, to thoſe pompous and ſublime deſcriptions of the attributes of the Deity, with which they are moſt impiouſly mixt. I ſhall follow Mahomet no farther in his filth and impurity, but ſay with the prophet Habakkuk, "he that runs may read."

I muſt however obſerve, that ſome of his laws, if not rigidly juſt, are yet an effectual ſecurity againſt deſpotiſm, and the oppreſſion of the people, eſpecially ſuch as relate to private property, widows, orphans, inheritances, legacies, and crimes, &c.

One concluſion I think ſo clear, that it muſt be evident to all ſagacious and impartial men; it is that the whole *Koran* is a diſcordant, incoherent jumble of ſentences, gleaned from fugitive Jews and Chriſtian ſectaries, Neſtorians, Monothelites, and Eutychians; ſtrangely

ſtrangely huddled together by the falſe prophet, and impoſed on ignorant enthuſiaſtic people, who could not give a ſtronger mark of barbariſm than in believing it to be the word of God.

We poſſeſs many good tranſlations of this extraordinary book, made from genuine and ſtandard copies of the original: excellent ones were found among the Granadine Moors by cardinal Ximenes; and correct copies may always be purchaſed in Turkey; tho' at a high rate. Indeed, there is ſcarce a riſque or poſſibility of being impoſed on; for the Mahometans hold it as the higheſt ſacrilege to alter a ſingle point or jota of this their ſacred book: and moſt men of letters amongſt them, like the Jews in Paleſtine, think it not only a duty, but a ſpecial recommendation to the Deity and his prophet, to have every word and tittle of the *Koran* ſo fixed and imprinted in their

memories, that they may on any occaſion repeat it extempore.

Du Ryer's French tranſlation may err in the idiom, but the general doctrines are ſufficiently exact; Maracci's Latin one is very correct; and that in Engliſh by Mr. Sale, is undoubtedly, in every reſpect, of approved accuracy.

As I happened to converſe on this ſubject with a learned *Effendi*, who was known to have the *Koran* by heart; a chapter from Sale's tranſlation was explained to him in the vulgar Turkiſh dialect: the old Turk, in a ſort of rapturous ſurpriſe, followed the interpreter; repeating verſe by verſe in the original Arabick. He remained aſtoniſhed and amazed; and aſked with ſome emotion, how we could have ſo perfect a tranſlation, the ſenſe ſo juſtly preſerved? He added, that the author muſt have been an admirable proficient

cient in the Arabian language, and a very great man.

I cannot conclude this chapter without obſerving, that from what I have ſaid of the practical religion of the Mahometans, we are not to infer that they are univerſally, and without exception, deſtitute of virtue; nor of all humanity towards ſtrangers. I have already, in my general character of the Turks, anticipated this remark as far as I could conſiſtently with truth. I cannot help, however, repeating it; bad as they are, they are the beſt people in their empire.

That corrupt religion perverts the rectitude of nature, and that the Turks are notoriouſly depraved by it, is too true; but how many abſurd ſects of Chriſtians are there, who, deviating from the original inſtitutes and pure precepts of Chriſtianity, are ſtrangers to that perfect ſimplicity and univerſal

ſal benevolence inculcated by its ſacred founder; and are as deſtitute of ſocial virtue and common humanity towards thoſe who differ from them in opinion, as the moſt zealous and ignorant Turk?

CHAP. VI.

Of Deſpotiſm, and its Reſtraints.

MANKIND, either from habit and the prejudices of education, or from preſumption and opinion, are apt to think the government of their own country the beſt; hence they are led to cenſure other modes of adminiſtration, point out their defects, and frequently, without ſufficient knowledge even to revile and abuſe them.

The government of the Turkiſh empire has been groſly miſrepreſented by

cenſures of this kind. The ſhocking relations of its deſpotiſm have miſled ſome, and raiſed the religious zeal of others to abhorrence and deteſtation; while many, not under the influence of religious paſſions, have felt their nature ſhudder at the frightful idea conveyed by thoſe accounts. Hence, notwithſtanding the regular ſyſtem of that haughty court, people have been induced to annex the idea of barbariſm to it; have ſuppoſed it, without order or plan; entirely ſubject to the caprice, cruelty, and avarice of a tyrant, who aims merely at the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, and, as far as his power extends, at the deſtruction of mankind.

Surely theſe men did not, or would not, look nearer home: it was, perhaps, too near; for let us only caſt an eye about us, and impartially examine the

the governments with which we are ſurrounded, we ſhall then in all probability find, that the Sultan is no more deſpotic than many Chriſtian ſovereigns; perhaps, not ſo much as ſome of them.

Although it be abſurd to look for perfection in any body of laws, or political inſtitutions; ſince the productions of the human mind, from its limited nature, muſt all be imperfect; yet, we may fairly conclude, that in every empire which has extended wide, and flouriſhed long, there are ſome parts of its conſtitution wiſely regulated. And it is certain, that whatever defects may be in the political ſyſtem of the Turks, their empire is ſo ſolidly founded on the baſis of religion, combined with law, and cemented by general enthuſiaſm, and the intereſt, as well as vanity of Turkiſh individuals,

duals, that as it has laſted now for ſome time, it bids fair for a ſtability of many ages.

We have ſeen, in a former chapter, that the Turks have laws to ſecure property and regulate commerce; they have others to puniſh crimes and reſtrain vice. It is not the Turkiſh laws, but the corrupt adminiſtration of them, the flagitious venality of their judges, and the number of falſe witneſſes connived at, and whoſe teſtimony is accepted by theſe judges, that bring an * opprobrium upon the Turkiſh empire, as will be more fully ſhewn in a ſucceeding chapter.

How far Mahomet intended to limit, or extend the power of the ſovereign, I ſhall not pretend to determine; the degree in which the preſent ſultans

* A ſyſtem of government and of laws may be in themſelves excellent, when the adminiſtration of both may be corrupt.

are abſolute, is an equiry more to the purpoſe. Of this, facts will beſt enable us to judge: thoſe we ſhall produce will ſhew us the nature of the Turkiſh monarch's deſpotiſm; and that, independent of fear, the conſtant companion and reſtraint of tyrants, he is limited by religion and law. But we ſhall firſt conſider his claim to inherit the poſſeſſions of ſome of his ſubjects.

Thoſe who are directly employed in his ſervice, and thoſe leſs immediately ſo; for example, the officers under Baſhaws in diſtant provinces, know that they hold their offices on a kind of feudal tenure: they, notwithſtanding, eagerly ſollicit, and contentedly accept them on that condition; ſubmitting, or, it may be ſaid, covenanting and agreeing, that the ſovereign ſhould inherit at their death.

The affinity of this law or cuſtom with the tenures of the old feudal law, transferred, in this inſtance, from lands to offices, would lead us to think it had its origin from thoſe tenures; for they prevailed over almoſt all the known world, at the time the *Koran* was framed; and ſubſiſted amongſt ourſelves long after the Conqueſt.

By theſe tenures, lands held in fief reverted on the death of the holder, abſolutely and irrevocably to the feudal prince, or lord: the family were left to ſhift as well as they could for ſubſiſtence; they had no claim of recovevery, nor even a pretenſion to relief in their neceſſities, except from mere commiſeration and humanity.

Mahomet, either by chance or deſign, has effectually ſecured the people from the immediate inconvenience and oppreſſion of that tenure.

Eſtates,

Eſtates, in land or houſes, annexed to the church, either in actual poſſeſſion, or in reverſion, are held both by prince and people ſacred and inviolable: thoſe perſons, therefore, by what ever means they acquire their poſſeſſions, who give the reverſion to religious foundations, tranſmit them unmoleſtedly and unalienably to their direct male iſſue: Mecca and Medina are the places generally preferred, becauſe held the moſt ſacred.

They call this ſettlement *Vacuf*: they pay an annual, very trifling, quit-rent, until the extinction of that iſſue, when the whole devolves to the religious foundation on which it is ſettled.

This previous law, or tie of religion, binds the prince to ſo rigid an obſervance, that there has never been a ſingle example of even an attempt to violate or reverſe it.

For, independent of what he may conceive his duty towards God, or his prophet, the leaſt breach of ſuch a law deſtroys the very foundation of his throne: it is merely by the *Koran*, or its religious inſtitutes, his ſovereignty exiſts; the moment he abandons thoſe doctrines, or violates thoſe laws, he becomes an infidel, and ceaſes to be the lawful ſovereign.

Mahomet has not limited this law of ſecurity merely to his own followers; it extends to all religions; Chriſtians or Jews may avail themſelves of it. And as moſt of them, led by ambition or intereſt, aſpire to enjoy more or leſs the countenance and favour of the great officers in government, they generally take the advantage of that protection, to ſettle their poſſeſſions either on Mecca or Medina; or, perhaps, with greater facility, on ſome of the ſeveral moſches at Conſtantinople, or

wherever elſe their fancy or connexions may lead them; it is enough that it be a religious foundation.

The Jews, indeed, have been excluded ſome moſches; as it appeared by the regiſters, that in the ſpace of a hundred years, not a ſingle reverſion fell in; whence the Turks, it ſhould ſeem, have concluded, that the direct male iſſue of the ſons of Abraham is eternal.

From what has been ſaid of the *Vacuf*, it is obvious, and worth obſerving, that the revenues belonging to the church muſt be immenſe; and that in ſucceſſion of time it muſt ſwallow up into is enormous boſom, almoſt all the lands and poſſeſſions of that vaſt empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Facts to elucidate the foregoing notions of the Turkiſh government.

THE Grand Seignor is conſidered as abſolute ſovereign of the whole Turkiſh empire; the ſubjects approaching him treat him as a divinity, with the higheſt veneration and reſpect. He ſhould, ſtrictly adhering to their conſtitution, delegate his abſolute power to the Vizir. This was practiſed by moſt of them from Mahomet the IId's time to 1730.

The rebellion that year, the depoſition of Sultan Achmet, and the acceſſion of his nephew Machmut, gave a new turn to the conſtitution. There was, at that time, in the ſeraglio, where he generally acts as firſt miniſter, a *Kiſlar-Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, an experienced and wiſe man:

he had been in office under Machmut's father, predeceſſor to the depoſed Achmet; he had ſeen two rebellions, two depoſitions of the ſovereign, obſerved the cauſe, traced the evil, and pointed out the remedy.

The cauſe he aſcribed to the permanent continuance and abſolute power of the Vizirs; to their ambition of glory, and reſtleſs diſpoſition for war and conqueſt. He therefore counſelled the new Sultan to retain the power in his own hands; to change his Vizirs frequently, not ſuffering any one to continue in office above three years, and to live in peace with all his neighbours. On theſe maxims he adviſed his maſter to eſtabliſh the tranquility of government, and the ſecurity of the throne; and ſultan Machmut, during a reign of twenty-four years, ſteadily adhered to them.

This

This black eunuch lived to the age of ninety; he died in 1746, and was ſucceeded by his favourite *Bekir-Aga*, a young black, about thirty-three years of age, born in the iſland of Borneo. Full of ſpirit and vigour, he found himſelf, by the policy of his late maſter, in poſſeſſion of abſolute power, and haſtened to exert it; but he wanted the wiſdom, the judgment, the knowledge of mankind, and the experience his predeceſſor poſſeſſed; his will became his law, and he ſet no bounds to his avarice.

Intoxicated with higher ideas than his underſtanding could ſupport, and enſlaved to avarice, he madly, and without foreſeeing conſequences, though he could trample under his feet law and religion, and began to exert his power as if neither had any exiſtence: he laid it down as a maxim, That no man in the empire ſhould be worth above

10,000 * dollars, and acted as if he would not leave them an aſper.

The rage of his paſſion was for diamonds, jewel-work, and rich-toys; probably, indeed, to lay in a ſtock of portable wealth for an evil day, and to live in ſplendor at Cairo, the uſual place of the exile of thoſe diſcarded favourites. During the ſix years of his adminiſtration, one would have thought that he intended to exhauſt all Europe of diamonds, and purchaſe the whole produce of the mines of Golconda and Brazil.

The inſtruments of his extortion were, a young ſlave, twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, and an Armenian raiſed from the duſt. The government of that vaſt empire centered in the hands of this junto. When any

* A dollar makes 120 aſpers, and is worth two ſhillings and ſix pence.

large

large purchaſe of diamonds was to be made, the means were concerted among theſe three how to raiſe the money: they ſagaciouſly divided the neceſſary ſum into parts; they then applied to a number of opulent great men, who were, or had been in office; and giving them to underſtand it was to purchaſe preſents intended for the ſovereign, they aſſigned a part on each until they had completed the whole ſum. No one dared repine, nor even heſitate; ſome were ſilent thro' fear; others, perhaps moſt of them, from the expectation of future favours.

This rapine was variouſly talked of; ſome aſcribed it to the prince, others to the Black and his aſſociates; but the more general voice gave it to the former, who certainly could not be entirely ignorant of the extortions practiſed by his miniſter. They occaſioned, how-

ever, no commotions or diſturbances.

Highly in the Sultan's confidence and favour, he might, indeed, have gone on with theſe and other irregularities ſome time without controul; but his firſt ſucceſſes ſpirited him on to enormous acts of power againſt all decency, law, and religion; he not only meddled with dependent, but even with independent people. He injudiciouſly offended the body of Janiſſaries, by ſtopping the pay of ſome, and withholding the money which had been promiſed them for rebuilding their *Odda's*, or chambers, lately burnt down; and at laſt, he ſtruck againſt thoſe whom he had feared moſt, the men of the law.

An important cauſe was depending before the *Moulah* or judge of Scutari, a man of ſingular reſolution. The party who was in the wrong applied to

the

the Black and his creatures for protection, and backed his requeſt with a large preſent. The junto undertook it, and ſent a meſſage to the judge, that he ſhould decide the cauſe in favour of their friend: he anſwered, that he would pronounce according to law, and his own conſcience; and on various like ſolicitations, he as conſtantly perſiſted in the ſame anſwer.

The day he was on the bench to hear, and finally determine the cauſe, a * *Chiobadar* of the Black's entered the court-room with precipitation, and heard the ſentence pronounced againſt their friend. He abuſed and threatened the *Moulah*, drew out a ſhort whip they generally wear, and, ſome pretend, went ſo far as not only to ſhake and menace, but to ſtrike.

* Head ſervant.

This

This unprecedented inſult on law and religion, ſtirred up the *Moulah* to ſeek redreſs and revenge: he applied to the *Mufti*, who ſent him to the Vizir. That miniſter ſought, by all poſſible methods, to pacify him: every offer was rejected, even that of the *Moulalick* of Iconium, the beſt in the empire. The men of the law ſupported their brother, and murmured with deep indignation. What heightened their reſentment was, that whilſt the Vizir capitulated with the *Moulah*, the Black rewarded his *Chiohadar* with a lucrative commiſſion abroad.

The Black and his dependants perceived the ſtorm ariſing; they found they could not ſilence the *Moulah*, and therefore determined his deſtruction. This could not be done openly; but, blinded by rage, paſſion, and deſpair, they were unable to concert their deſtructive

deſtructive ſcheme with their uſual diabolical ſubtelty, or to perpetrate their villany with that ſecrecy, which the dangerous conſequence of ſo atrocious a crime required.

The bungling project they hit upon was to ſend ruffians in the dead of the night, who ſtrangled the *Moulah* and his daughter in their beds: in the mean time, they cut the wooden pillars ſupporting the houſe, and ſo demoliſhed it, that it might appear as if they had been accidentally buried under the ruins.

The time, the manner, and other circumſtances, led to a clear diſcovery of this horrid tranſaction. The men of the law became deſperately reſolved on vengeance, and joined ſecretly with ſome chiefs of the Janiſſaries; but determined to ſpare the ſovereign, provided he gave up his Black, the obnoxious *Kiſlar-Aga*.

The

The difficulty lay how to make their firſt grievances known to him: if through the Black Eunuch, the natural channel, any two or three complainants riſked ſudden deſtruction, without effecting what they deſired; if ſecretly to the Sultan, they were not ſure of a better fate. They found, therefore, only one method which might effectually awaken, intimidate, and inform him; that was, by ſetting Conſtantinople on fire.

Fires broke out every day in two or three different parts of that city, and this conflagration laſted near three weeks. The Grand Seignor finding the evil deep, and carried on by deſign, depoſed the Vizir; a ſacrifice he imagined would appeaſe the rage of diſcontent: but he found that expedient was inſufficient; for the next day as many fires appeared. At the laſt he was adviſed, as it was ſaid by ſome,

ſome, to conſult ſecretly the *Mufti*; or, as others report, that chief of the law went to him ſpontaneouſly, and boldly laid the conduct of the Black before him, demanded juſtice, and told him, he expoſed the ſecurity of his own throne in refuſing it; urged the neceſſity of taking ſome immediate reſolution againſt the Black; adding, if the Sultan would not give *Bechir* the *Kiſlar-Aga* up, he deſired leave to reſign his own office, that he might rather as a private man ſee the dreadful cataſtrophe of his prince's fall, than as the head of the law be conſtrained to conſent to it.

Sure it is, that the *Mufti* was really a man of that ſtoical ſelf-denying turn, that heroic mind, as to dare hold ſuch language, and undertake this harſh and hazardous meſſage to his ſovereign, who immediately giving attention to this alarming remonſtrance, determined

termined to get rid of the Black, and to exile him to Cairo.

On one of his uſual days of recreation, the Sultan went by water to a *Khioſc*, or ſummer-houſe, on the Boſphorus: the * *Boſtangi Baſhi* and *Selichtar-Aga*, who always accompany him, had already received his orders. The Black was of the party; they ſeized on him at his landing, forced him into a boat, and impriſoned him in Leander's tower †, where he was to wait for the galley deſigned to tranſport him to Cairo.

The ſight of the galley excited freſh remonſtrances from the law; they de-

* The Boſtangi Baſhi always ſteers the Sultan's boat; he is the chief of the *Boſtangees*, or gardeners, who occaſionally form a conſiderable military corps: the Selictar-Aga is the Sultan's ſword-bearer, and conſtantly attends him.

† Situated on an iſland, in the port of Conſtantinople.

manded

manded the delinquent's blood, and obliged the Grand Seignor, tho' with the utmoſt reluctance, to conſent to his execution.

The high ſpirit of the Black was changed to deſperation at the ſight of the executioner; he reſolutely defended himſelf with his *Hanjar*, or knife, againſt that officer: he wounded him; and fell at laſt but by the ſuperiority of the ſcimitar: his body lay expoſed three days on the ſea-ſhore.

This cataſtrophe was followed by daily executions of all his creatures and dependants, his ſlave, his Armenian, and his ſecretaries; many others were exiled.

The ſums confiſcated by death and exile were immenſe. What paſſed thro' the *Teſderdarat*, or public treaſury, and was afterwards paid into the Grand Seignor's *Chaſne*, or private treaſury, collected from without, amounted to

30,500 purſes, or a million nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. What was found within the Seraglio, in diamonds, jewel-work, and gold, was never known; but in general aſſured to be as much more, or far exceeding it.

This moſt rare and remarkable fact in their hiſtory, and which ſo immediately and intimately affected abſolute power, might ſingly ſhew how law at laſt can effectually controul it, and bring the ſovereign, as it was well known in this caſe, againſt every ſenment of love and affection, and almoſt without a precedent or example, to abandon the governor of his Seraglio, and at that time of his empire, to the utmoſt rigour of the juſtice of law.

But that even the Sultan thinks himſelf bound by law, is evident from his practice; for when any treaty is to be made, any war to be undertaken, or tranſgreſſions puniſhed that have been com-

committed againſt himſelf, or by perſons of high rank in his ſervice; he applies to the *Mufti* for his *Fetfa*, his decree, his deciſion, or legal ſanction.

It is true, as he appoints the *Mufti*, he can depoſe and exile him, the worſt fate that can befall him. It is alſo as true, that many of them, in different reigns, have actually withſtood the will of the Sultan; and that the ſovereign, notwithſtanding, has not dared immediately to reſent their non-compliance. On theſe occaſions it has been judged neceſſary to invent ſome more plauſible pretence for diſgracing them: the people would in this caſe be too clamorous with the argument againſt violent proceedings; and thoſe of the law alone might ſhake his throne.

The *Koran*, we have obſerved, ſecures property; of which the following fact is a remarkable inſtance.

In the year 1755, the * *Porte* was burnt entirely down: on rebuilding it the conſideration was, how to place it on the former ſpot, and at the ſame time render the ſituation ſecure from a like accident for the future.

The method determined on, was, to leave a ſufficient ſpace about it, and for that end to purchaſe and demoliſh ſeveral houſes that were contiguous. Moſt of the owners ſubmitted to a ſale; but there was one old woman who declared ſhe could not, and would not, part with hers; that it had been a property in her family for ſeveral generations, and no money could compenſate the infinite value it was of to her: no offers tempted her, no threats could avail. The men in power cried

* The Porte is the palace in which the Vizir reſides: in it all the archives are kept, and all public buſineſs is tranſacted.

out and abuſed her; but the injuſtice appeared too violent to dare take it by force; the houſe ſtood; and when it was aſked why the Sultan did not uſe his authority, ſo as to take it, and pay the value? the anſwer was, *'Tis impoſſible, it cannot be done, it is her property.*

Notwithſtanding the tranſcendant expreſſions the Turks uſe, when ſpeaking of their Sovereign, they will frequently murmur, talk freely, abuſe him and his miniſters, throw anonymous ſcurrilous papers into the moſches, and ſeem even ripe for rebellion, if irritated by frequent and unuſual exertions of tyranny. They are taught that he is eſtabliſhed by God, that he is a deſcendent of their prophet, through whoſe mediation they expect ſalvation; and yet in a moment they will deprive him of his throne, of his liberty, and even of his life.

This may appear only a ſingle inſtance of the immenſe number of ſeeming contradictions in the compoſition of human nature: though, indeed, it might with other ſuch inſtances be accounted for, by what an elegant * free writer has attempted to prove, that men do not generally act according to principles.

Although I think his propoſition too general, it is, I fear, in great part true; for, that there are many men who do not act according to principle, is but too evident: this might therefore, in appearance, furniſh a ſolution; but here would be miſapplied and inſufficient; for the whole of what the Turks are taught relating to government, is not taken into the caſe; and therefore the fact is not fairly repreſented.

* Bayle.

For they learn very early, that if the authority of the prince is of right divine, he founds it on the *Koran*; that he is conſtituted ſuch by that ſacred code of laws; which, as a true believer, he has ſtudied, ſo as to be convinced, before his acceſſion to the throne, that it muſt ever be his duty to obſerve them; and that, conſequently, he is as much bound and tied by all thoſe laws as the meaneſt of his ſubjects.

This is ſo explicitly and fully laid down in the *Koran*, that Mahomet thought it neceſſary to throw in ſome rules of exception expreſly for himſelf.

Hence when the people are notoriouſly aggrieved; their property, or that of the church, repeatedly violated; when the prince will riot in blood, or carry on an unſucceſsful war; they appeal *to Law*, pronounce him an in-

 fidel,

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fidel, a tyrant, an unjuſt man, incapable to govern; and, in conſequence, depoſe and impriſon, or deſtroy him.

They, it is true, conſult firſt their own power, or the probability of ſucceſs, rather than the rectitude of the action, but always under the ſanction of the law, directed by ſome leading perſon of that body. And it may be affirmed, that no example will be found of a depoſition of a Sultan in Turky, but a form of law, either true or falſe, has been obſerved: nay, it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary; for it has always been practiſed, that either the *Mufti*, or * the *Nakib of Santa Sophia*, or of *Eiup*, or at leaſt, ſome diſtinguiſhed man of the law, ſhould enter the Seraglio, or tent, and even declare the

* Head, or director of the moſches, who are emirs or deſcendants of Mahomet.

reaſons

reaſons of the depoſition to the Sultan himſelf; announcing to him, why by law he is unworthy and incapable of reigning.

Fear obliges the Turks to paſſive obedience, merely as diſunited individuals: then they only talk;—but when once the burthen of ills accumulates and extends, the people find a chief; the law and ſoldiery join with them as in a common intereſt, and depoſe the oppreſſor; but they always place on the throne his lawful ſucceſſor.

This ſingle undoubted practice of taking the *lawful Succeſſor* proves they ſeek the ſanction of *law*; and I think it may be laid down as a maxim, that wherever it has not been mere uſurped temporary power, the like has been practiſed in all governments.

CHAP. VIII.

Hiſtory of the Vizir Ragib Mehemet Baſhaw's government.

THE death of the chief Black gave a ſudden change to the interior frame of the Turkiſh government, and may be conſidered as a new æra in their conſtitution. This circumſtance, however, is little known, and has eſcaped moſt writers; hence the ſucceeding tranſactions and the advantages taken from that event by the Vizir, to eſtabliſh his own abſolute power, may be worth relating.

The new *Kiſlar-Aga*, intimidated by the tragical end of his predeceſſor, conducted himſelf with great caution; he ſeemed to conſult frequently with the Vizir,

Vizir, and enter into cloſer connexions with him: this continued till the year 1754.

It was then, that on the demiſe of Sultan Machmut, his brother Oſman aſcended the throne. This prince, according to the maxims of Turkiſh policy, had been conſtantly confined; and now came forth into the world at the age of fifty-ſix, a perfect ſtranger to mankind. On this event, the Black *Kiſlar-Aga* began to aſſume more power, and with his party, compoſed of ſome without, and ſome within the Seraglio, to make and depoſe Vizirs as he pleaſed. His power within the Seraglio is entirely free from controul, except from his ſecretary the *Jazigi Effendi*, who generally gains credit with the Grand Seignor: in theſe two, and a few of their adherents, the whole power of government centered.

Upon

Upon the death of Oſman, in the year 1757, the Vizir Ragib Mehemet Baſhaw, who had the ſeals, appeared to be the ableſt, and moſt ſubtle man of the Turkiſh empire. His office led him to place Sultan Muſtapha on the throne: he had either formed a ſecret connexion with that prince before, or captivated his affection then, by his obſequiouſneſs, learning, and eloquence; ſo that he became at once his friend and confidant, and ſet the office of Vizir on its ancient footing of prime miniſter with abſolute power.

The Sultan, to attach this miniſter more effectually to his perſon, obliged him to repudiate his wife, who was an amiable young lady, and to marry the princeſs his ſiſter, a widow, whoſe perſon, and advanced years, rendered her an object incapable of exciting the ſofter paſſions.

Muſtapha,

Muſtapha, the preſent Sultan, of whom we are now ſpeaking, is a ſon of Achmet, who was depoſed in 1730. The two brothers Machmut and Oſman, who had reigned from that time till the acceſſion of Muſtapha, were deſcendants of Achmet's brother.

Filial duty operates with great force on Mahometans; they commonly, I might ſay invariably, make a point of imitating their fathers; and quote the life and actions of their progenitors, as the only models they ought to follow.

This prince, therefore, looked on every regulation introduced ſince his father's depoſition, or which deviated from the practice of his anceſtors, as inſufferable innovations; and the reigns of his two couſins appeared to him full of abuſe and irregularity.

The Vizir took care to confirm him in theſe ideas, and to point out the abuſes; exclaiming againſt them as deviations

deviations not only from the practice of his father, but from the ancient Mahometan rule or canon of government. He carried him up to the time of Solyman I. by ſome called the Magnificent, by others the Law-giver; and did not fail to repreſent the power given to the *Kiſlar-Aga*, a wild, ignorant black ſlave, as the ſource of thoſe and all other attendant evils; that the authority uſurped within the Seraglio, and the iniquitous intrigues always forming there, deſtroyed the wiſeſt meaſures of the Porte; and that the true original eſtabliſhment of the empire, was the abſolute power of the Vizir.

The Black, who ſucceeded *Bekir-Aga*, ſtill continued in power. On ſeveral occaſions he had ſhewn himſelf no friend to the Vizir, who, nevertheleſs, had ſupported himſelf, during the few months he governed in Sultan Oſman's

Oſman's reign, by means of the *Jazigi Effendi*; he was, however, continually tottering, and called himſelf publickly, a ſtranger who muſt prepare to remove. Turks never forgive; the Vizir's ability and art were therefore immediately employed to ſatisfy his revenge, by puniſhing this enemy. The Black was condemned to exile; and after the fatal diſaſter of the Mecca caravan, his head was ſtruck off, and brought to Conſtantinople, as a compenſation he owed to the people for being the original cauſe of that ſacrilege.

The power of miniſters in Turkey, as in many other countries, is in proportion to the emoluments of their office, and the conſequent riches and number of their dependants.

The *Harem*, or ladies of the Seraglio, have a vaſt revenue aſſigned them for their ſupport and maintenance: this conſiſts in large diſtricts of lands, and conſiderable

ſiderable towns, in Europe and Aſia, and is called the *Haremai*. The abſolute independent government and direction of theſe revenues, which equal thoſe of a kingdom, were entirely at the diſpoſal of the Black *Kiſlar-Aga*. He received the whole, accountable to no one; in all affairs relating to the *Haremai*, he held the Divans, diſtributed juſtice, and tried cauſes criminal and civil; he named the governors, and all the other magiſtrates, civil, and military; no one dared to contradict him, or interfere with him in the government of thoſe places alloted for the maintenance of the *Harem*.

The difficulty was how to alter this part of the conſtitution; but Ragib Mehemet Baſhaw's reſources never failed him: his knowledge of their hiſtory, his fertile genius and eloquence, had captivated the Grand Seignor, who

who was ſoon peſuaded that this power of the Black Eunuch over the *Haremai*, was the ſource of his crimes; that government ſhould be more ſimple; and that even the buſineſs of the *Haremai* ſhould, as a principal and eſſential part, be annexed to the Vizir's office: in ſhort, the miniſter got it intirely out of the hands of the Seraglio, and brought it into his own; ſubſtituting a Black of his own choice, whom he rendered ſubſervient to all his views; ſo that one might truly ſay, he re-modelled that part of government, and brought the whole empire under his own abſolute power.

I could not help often comparing this Vizir's art of governing, with that of Tiberius. In cunning, deceit, and jealouſy, he exceeded him; and where he found a competitor, or one who might endanger his own ſecurity, his cruelty

cruelty perhaps was equal to that of the Roman tyrant.

A *Tefterdar*, or high-treaſuer, a man of unbounded generoſity, and uncommon ſublimity of ſentiment, occupied that poſt for the ſecond time while Ragib was Vizir; and had acquired vaſt popularity. The Vizir heard him continually praiſed; this was a ſufficient reaſon to excite his jealouſy. He ordered a reviſion of accounts; found him, as he pretended, deficient; and procured his exile; at the ſame time complaining of the loſs he ſuſtained by the *Tefterdar*'s removal. Nor did the Vizir's hatred ſtop here; it followed him in his exile, and was not appeaſed but by his blood: he cauſed his head to be cut off, proteſting all the while againſt ſuch rigid juſtice; lamenting his friend's hard fate; and cenſuring the Grand Seignor's too

inflexible

inflexible ſeverity, exerciſed on ſo able and worthy a man, for a crime ſo common, and for which an atonement might be ſo eaſily made.

This miniſter, with all his credit and power, never in the leaſt attempted to conteſt the Grand Seignor's will. Subſervient to it, he advanced to the high and important poſt of *Mufti*, one *Veli Effendi*, a bold loquacious man, much reſpected in the law. This *Mufti* was not long in his poſt, before he was obſerved to meddle in politics, and was thought to vie in power with the miniſter.

The Vizir, who had taken an affection to the interpreter of the Porte, reſolved to make a change of princes, or *Vaywodes*, in Moldavia and Walachia; and to confer one of thoſe dignities on the interpreter. The Sultan agreed to it; the interpreter was nominated to this promotion; and the

honours to be conferred on him on that occaſion were ſettled: but the *Mufti*, who patronized another, a depoſed prince, interpoſed, and recommended him to the Grand Seignor as the propereſt perſon; extolling his character with uncommon praiſes.

The Sultan mentioned this recommendation to the Vizir; that miniſter immediately confirmed it, and ſubmitted to alter his whole plan.

The interpreter was laid aſide, and the *Mufti* had the ſatisfaction to find his recommendation effectual.

The Vizir's uſual proverb was, "That "you muſt hunt the hare in a cart:" that is, Do your buſineſs covertly, and avoid precipitation. He received the Vaywode as if this promotion had been his own act, and the new prince his creature: all went on, ſeemingly, in perfect harmony with the *Mufti*, for near three months. At length a ru-

mour was induſtriouſly propagated through the town, that the *Mufti* had taken one hundred purſes of money for his recommendation; but if this did not reach the Grand Seignor's ear, it would fail in its intended effect: the point therefore was how to convey it to him.

This prince, as is cuſtomary in Turkey, frequently went about incognito, diſguiſed as a common man; and introduced himſelf into coffee-houſes, to hear what the people ſaid of himſelf and his miniſters.

It was to one of thoſe houſes in * *Eiup*, that he more particularly reſorted: here the Vizir ſet ſome of his people, and inſtructed them in the language, which, on the Sultan's entrance, they ſhould hold in his hearing. One of them began with ſaying, "they

* A ſuburb near his ſummer palace.

were bleſt with the wiſeſt, juſteſt, and beſt of princes, and wiſhed that his miniſters reſembled him; but what could they hope, when the chief of their religion and law was ſo venal and infamous as to be corrupted by infidels? that the *Mufti* had received a hundred purſes of money to raiſe a miſerable infidel to the dignity of prince of Walachia; and if ſuch abominations were ſuffered, and the Grand Seignor ſhould not be informed of them, the empire would ſoon fall to ruin." The whole company joined in the accuſation: the Grand Seignor, alarmed, ſlipt out, went to the Vizir, and ordered him to depoſe the *Mufti* immediately.

The Vizir expoſtulated; he told the Grand Seignor, that ſuch reports ſhould be received with diffidence; that people were often miſinformed, and always diſpoſed to be cenſorious and inſolent;

lent; that this report was certainly not to be truſted; that the *Mufti* was too holy, too virtuous a man, to be guilty of ſuch wickedneſs; and conjured him, at leaſt, to ſuſpend his indignation until he could more truly and preciſely verify the fact.

His exhortations and intreaties pacified the ſovereign for the preſent, till the ſubtle miniſter poſted a new group in another Coffee-houſe, to repeat the accuſation, with additional aggravations againſt the *Mufti*. The former charge was then confirmed beyond a doubt; the prince would no longer ſuffer a delay, but ordered the *Mufti* into immediate baniſhment, to a moſt diſagreeable ſituation at Synope, on the Black Sea.

The Vizir appeared to all his friends under the utmoſt concern at this event. The *Mufti* applied to him with moſt fervent intreaties, to have the place of

baniſhment changed, and that his departure might not be ſo inſtantaneous: the miniſter repreſented the difficulty of prevailing with an irritated prince, whoſe paſſion had been heightened by his ſtrict regard to juſtice. However, he promiſed to uſe all his intereſt to mitigate the ſentence, and that he would, as effectually as poſſible, implore his ſovereign's clemency.

He ſuffered the *Mufti* to remain a day or two at a country-houſe on the Boſphorus; and afterwards obtained for him what this diſgraced man and his friends ſo ardently deſired, the place of his baniſhment to be changed from Synope to Bruſia.

Thus, after giving him a fatal blow, he yet reſerved to himſelf the merit of having moſt eſſentially ſerved him.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Change of Vizirs.—Order of Buſineſs.—Policy of Turkiſh Miniſters.

THE change of Vizirs, and ſometimes, though rarely, their execution has given riſe to a general prejudice, and been produced as an argument of the inſtability and diſorder of the Turkiſh government: Sultan Machmut, as I have obſerved, introduced that change as a maxim of ſtate, and was the firſt who methodically practiſed it.

Some of the very loweſt claſs of men, ſeveral of whom could not write or read, have occupied that high office; yet the order of government, and the courſe of buſineſs, has not been a moment interrupted. Another maxim,

more certain and ſalutary, preſerves government in its regular courſe; for ſubalterns in office are religiouſly continued, and generally upon a change in the miniſtry advanced; ſo that thoſe who have been many years trained and practiſed to buſineſs, become the Vizir's amanuenſes and inſtructors. Hence, any new Vizir is ſoon maſter of the modes of government; or if he be not, as to the moſt difficult and intricate parts, he is ſo far at leaſt as to keep the empire and the capital in quiet, the men of the law in good humour, and the ſoldiery in due ſubordination; which, perhaps, are the chief and moſt important ends of his great power. By this procedure of government, no mutation of the higher officers ever affects the whole; ſo that when we read of a *Kiahaia* to the Vizir, a *Reis Effendi*, a *Chiaoux Baſchi*, de-

poſed,

poſed, the ſpirit of the office remains, and the buſineſs ſtill goes on in its proper courſe.

The clerks and under-clerks are almoſt innumerable. Some hundreds of hands are kept conſtantly at work at the Porte: each of them with the leaſt talents or genius aſpires to ſome of the higheſt dignities; keeps his eye immediately fixed for years on the office he hopes to fill; and, by an obſtinate perſeverance, and never moving out of that courſe, frequently attains his end.

There is no Chriſtian power can vie with the Porte for care and exactneſs in the ſeveral offices: buſineſs is done with the greateſt accuracy: in any important writing, words are weighed, and that ſignification conſtantly taken, which may moſt conduce to their own advantage.

Papers of the remoteſt date, if the year of the tranſaction is but known, may be found at the Porte; every command granted at that time, and every regulation then made, can be immediately produced.

The rule which government follows in the explanation of treaties, or capitulations, or conceſſions granted to Chriſtian princes, or in many other caſes, is *Precedent*; the remoter the example, the more reſpectable; and moſt ſo, what they call the *Ancient Canon*: any political ſuit in doubt, or depending between themſelves and the Chriſtian Powers, may be immediately determined by producing Precedent.

The French ambaſſadors have often pretended ſuperiority of rank at the Porte: the Turks have as ſolemnly declared to others the nullity of their pretenſions, and that all ambaſſadors are on the ſame footing. But as the

public

public audiences are by rotation, ſome one muſt begin: hence they take the prime occupant, the firſt ambaſſador who was eſtabliſhed in their country; and this is the ſingle reaſon why the French have the priority in point of time at audiences, but they have none of order or pre-eminence.

When they have a mind to expedite buſineſs at the Porte, or it is agreeable to them, no people do it with greater celerity; when the contrary, they will as artfully protract or delay: numberleſs excuſes, good and bad, are ready; it may remain ſuſpended for months or years.

The idol the Turks worſhip is gold; and in all common affairs their ears are opened by that powerful deity. If that be not properly applied, the claim of right, engagements, capitulations, or treaties, have generally no effect; ſome maſter-hand muſt feel the weight

of

of this ſpecious argument: but then they are often generous enough to truſt to a conditional promiſe, and content with the fee after the completion of the buſineſs.

The policy of every Turkiſh miniſter has himſelf for its firſt object; they ſtudy ſolely their own ſecurity and permanence in office: this is the only ſyſtem they pay any regard to. It is in vain to talk of the intereſt of the empire, either preſent or future; the queſtion to themſelves is, Can I be ſafe? Can I hold power? When therefore matters of high conſequence, of peace or war, are propounded to them; if the one or the other does not coincide perfectly with the preſervation of their own authority, and eſpecially their perſonal ſafety, all the money in the univerſe will not move them.

Some time after the acceſſion of Sultan Oſman to the throne, the Vizir who

who had been inſtrumental in his elevation, found that his credit was upon the decline with the prince; that others had the ſovereign's confidence, and were plotting and deviſing a change in the adminiſtration.

Educated in the Seraglio, he was no ſtranger to its intrigues, and aſſiduouſly endeavoured to counterwork his enemies; but the mines he had laid were generally ſprung againſt himſelf; ſo that he found his ruin inevitable.

The *Reis Effendi* under him was a haughty ſtern Muſſulman; who ſeemed to abhor the very name of a Chriſtian; ſo that he could not contain his paſſion, but was all on fire, if the leaſt miſunderſtanding aroſe between the Porte and any of the neighbouring powers.

The Vizir, in full vigour of age, thought he could make a proper uſe of this zealous ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe fiery

fiery temper, he ſaw, might readily be prompted to plunge the Porte into a war, and war he ardently wiſhed for: it ſeemed the moſt effectual means by which he might preſerve himſelf, increaſe his power, and, at the head of an army, command even the Grand Seignor, and effectually cruſh his own enemies.

There had been trivial diſputes and bickerings with a neighbouring Chriſtian court, and ſome ſerious altercations; but the Sultan's temper, diſpoſition, or political maxims, had induced him rather to overlook than to reſent them.

Theſe diſputes were known to the Vizir; he ſoon perceived they would be proper materials to work on the innate hatred the *Reis Effendi* bore to Chriſtians, and that they would afford him an agreeable opportunity to declare his ardent zeal for the honour and glory of

of Muſſulmaniſm and the Sultan. To this man therefore he opened this contentious affair, loading it with every aggravating circumſtance; yet, feigning to ſoften the fury of his paſſion, though he knew it was rather the moſt effectual means to excite it. Thus he brought him to become his ſtalking-horſe in the Seraglio; ſet them all in a rage, not excepting the Sultan himſelf; and brought them from threats and menaces almoſt to blows.

The Vizir prepared to put himſelf at the head of the army, in order to attack that power by whom they were, as the Grand Seignor and *Reis Effendi* pretended, ſo ſcandalouſly and ignominiouſly inſulted.

The junto who managed this great affair at the Porte, conſiſted of five perſons: the zealous ſecretary of ſtate always took the lead; the Vizir, ſubmiſſive

miſſive to the will of the ſovereign, ſimply approved; though when commands were made out for the troops to aſſemble, he expreſſed himſelf to his confidants with the greateſt ſatisfaction and joy.

But, at length, one of the junto opened the ſcene to a foreign miniſter, to whom the negotiation had been entruſted; told him the eaſy means by which the Grand Seignor and *Reis Effendi* would be ſatisfied, the Vizir diſappointed, and the empire preſerved in peace.

That foreign miniſter made a proper uſe of it; ſtopped for the moment, at the riſque of his own life and ſafety, the precipitancy and fury with which they were carrying on their revenge; and as what they required was more honourable for the other court to grant, than for them to accept, the whole affair

fair was adjuſted with almoſt a ſingle word. The Vizir was ſoon after depoſed and exiled.

Thus ended a violent, precipitate, turbulent negotiation, which laſted a conſiderable time; entirely ſet on foot by one man's luſt of power, who, to ſecure that, and his dignity, or to perpetrate his revenge on a few, would have been the cauſe, perhaps, of the deſtruction of his country, but certainly of many thouſands of his fellow-creatures and fellow-ſubjects.

This perſonal policy has frequently manifeſted itſelf in leſſer matters. Their diſtant governors often aſpire to independency, and obtain it. At Babylon, Achmet enjoyed this uſurped plenitude of power for ſeveral years; and, what is more extraordinary, his ſon ſucceeded him, with undiminiſhed authority, undiſturbed by the Vizir,

and died a natural death in his government. Not long after, his ſon-in-law Solyman Baſhaw poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſame poſt, and maintained the ſame independence. They diſregarded the Sultan's commands; and though they always anſwered in terms of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, they acted according to their own will. The Vizirs choſe rather tamely to ſubmit to this inſolent treatment, than by reſenting it to excite a rebellion or riſk their own ſecurity, and therefore contented themſelves with mere external profeſſions of obedience.

Another remote governor has ſupported himſelf on the ſame footing for many years; but as he is worſe circumſtanced, and not ſo thoroughly ſecure, he muſt therefore ſeek ſome underhand protection in the Seraglio, or at the Porte.

On

On the death of the Chief Black and his adherents, that protection was loſt; he applied at Conſtantinople to ſecure in his intereſt a *Reis Effendi* of ſordid venality: for this purpoſe he furniſhed a credit for a conſiderable ſum, and, moreover, promiſed twenty-four of the fineſt Arabian horſes for the Vizir and his miniſter. The perſon entruſted ſent a man to ſound the *Reis Effendi*; for ſuch meſſages are always grateful. On his return, he reported that he left him heſitating, but diſpoſed to accept: it was then thought proper to tempt him with a part of the bribe. The meſſenger was again diſpatched to him with a large bag, ſealed. The *Effendi*, took the money, put it into his boſom, muſed, rubbed his head, and ſtroked his beard; but at length, drawing the meſſenger cloſe to him, told him in a whiſper, he was obliged

to him and his principal for intermeddling: he knew that taking the money from them was ſafe; but from the other, the governor who ſought protection, it might be dangerous to himſelf, for he could not truſt him: he then returned the bag, adding, that ſuch a ſtep required much reflection. He never would receive the money; ſo that the governor was obliged to ſeek ſome other protection; and muſt have found it; for he is ſtill living, and enjoys his uſual independency.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Adminiſtration of Juſtice amongſt the Turks.

THE monarch's great power is not the chief evil in Turkey: his ſubjects would perhaps bear that without much murmuring, or uneaſineſs. The radical deſtruction of all ſecurity lies in the iniquitous adminiſtration of their laws, which are an impending ſword in the hand of corruption, ever ready to cut away their lives and properties.

The overflowings of a tender mind muſt not lead us to conclude, that the ſteady conduct of the *Moulah* or judge of Scutari, and his poſitive refuſal to comply with the *Kiſlar-Aga*'s command, aroſe from his inviolable attachment to

ſtrict juſtice. On the contrary, from the general and known practice it is rather to be inferred, that this *Moulah* was pre-engaged, and pre-determined, by the potent motive of a bribe; and that thus ſituated, he durſt not act otherwiſe, nor even obey the peremptory command of the Black Eunuch.

They tell us of ſome rare examples in Turkey of uncorrupt judges; I have heard of one, but none have come to my certain knowledge.

There are in Conſtantinople ſeveral courts of judicature, and the plaintiff may chooſe in which to prefer his ſuit. The inferior are, the *Moulah* of Galata, and the *Stambole Effendi*, or judge of Conſtantinople; the higher, the two *Cadi-leſquiers*, or judges of Europe and Aſia; and laſtly, the Vizar's divan, which is the ſupreme court of judicature.

Maho-

Mahomet has exempted his deſcendants from the authority of theſe juriſdictions; they are numerous throughout the empire, and are always judged by the heads of their tribe: in any cauſe, therefore, in which an *Emir*, or * *Green-head*, is concerned, their proper court is that of the *Nakib* of Sancta Sophia, or *Eiup*; though I have obſerved the Vizir keeps a watchful eye over them, and occaſionally controuls their proceedings.

The plaintiff has not only a conſiderable, but almoſt a certain advantage over the defendant; for as he chuſes his judge, his firſt care is to ſecure him in his intereſt.

All the judges have a *Naib*, or deputy, who is the real acting perſon, and generally guides and determines

* The deſcendants of Mahomet are called Green-heads, from a green turban they wear.

the maſter: to this man the firſt application is made, and the bribe is offered: if he finds the ſum worth while, and accepts, you are generally ſecure of gaining your ſuit.

Sometimes, by bribing higher, the defendant may nonſuit his adverſary; or he may at leaſt, by quirk and quibble, be enabled to put off the cauſe; perhaps to remove it to another court; and thus protracting it, if he is the richeſt, tire him out, until, at length, the plaintiff is obliged to drop his pretenſions, whether juſt or otherwiſe, and content himſelf with a trifling compoſition.

The means of ſpinning out a ſuit, and eluding a deciſion, are various; a defect in the forms of procedure, abſence or death of witneſſes, denying the validity of ſeals, the hand-writing of others, or even their own; or, as all proof is determined by witneſſes, and

and that theſe are found in abundance who will ſwear any thing for pay, when a cauſe is deſperate, an immediate reſource is at hand; for ſuch witneſſes may be brought to any point as will puzzle the cleareſt cauſe, and juſtify the law's delay.

There are different ſpecies of witneſſes; ſome your neighbours and old acquaintance; others, caſual; and laſtly, thoſe who make a profeſſed trade of attending courts of judicature, and live by it. On informing them of the merits of the cauſe, they firſt declare that they appear in it merely becauſe they ſee the hardſhip and injuſtice intended againſt you; that, as they know you to be an honeſt man, on whoſe veracity they can abſolutely depend, they will therefore affirm as truth whatever you ſhall aver to them as ſuch. This profeſſion, which they make with an affected earneſtneſs, is

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the uſual Turkiſh ſalvo, and ſeldom fails to quiet all their ſcruples.

Or ſhould it not have that effect; if the witneſſes inſiſt on better information, they are concealed in a private room, where they can hear all that paſſes in an adjoining apartment. Into this apartment the party with whom you are at variance is decoyed, and there ſuch conceſſions, by interrogatories, and other artful managements, are drawn from him as may make againſt himſelf: theſe the evidences report on the trial, and declare they have heard. Often indeed, on this occaſion, inſtead of the real party, a friend of your own, who perſonates him, is introduced into the apartment, where he makes what conceſſions you pleaſe in the hearing of the concealed witneſſes, who can neither ſee nor be ſeen, and who do not chuſe to detect the fraud, but report to the judge what they

they heard, as ſpoken by the real perſon. In law-ſuits, no practice of this kind can ſtartle a Turk; all he is anxious for, is ſome pretext, which he thinks may enable him ſtill to paſs for an honeſt man. Thus much for their firſt ſpecies of witneſs.

The laſt ſort are thoſe who make a profeſſed trade of it, and are always ready at any man's ſervice for a dollar or two. By habit and long practice theſe need no caſuiſtry, no ſalvo to their conſcience, but ſwallow their oath, true or falſe, and will ſtand or fall by their evidence.

The judges have their deputies, who manage their retainers, and other dependants; fellows who conſtantly attend the courts to bring them cuſtom: their buſineſs is to foment litigation, or to raiſe falſe ſuits, called *Avanias*, and attack thoſe on any pretence who are rich and can pay. No man is ſecure from day to day, eſpecially if he be a

Chri-

Chriſtian or Jew; for let the cauſe on which the proceſs is founded, be ever ſo improbable, abſurd, or falſe, he muſt appear and defend it, when, if he has not ſecured the judge, a cloud of witneſſes are brought in, by whoſe teſtimony he is aſſuredly caſt.

Many inſtances daily happen of demands on property, or complaints of injuries committed, which never had, and never could have, the leaſt grounds of exiſtence.

In general, let the cauſe be right or wrong, Chriſtians or Jews have no chance againſt Turks but by dint of money; happy, if that can ſave them.

Neither Chriſtians nor Jews are admitted as evidence againſt a Turk; but Chriſtians or Jews can witneſs for or againſt each other.

They have no ſubpœnas; the law does not permit a ſummons, or oblige any perſon to give in their evidence; they

they muſt do it uncompelled. Turks, unleſs your dependants, will not appear in favour of a Chriſtian or a Jew: the mere force of money muſt bring them into court. If they really know the juſtice of the cauſe, and had ſeen the fact, they generally expect the higher bribe; and that in proportion as they think their evidence material. If it be for a Chriſtian againſt a Turk, it is ſcarce poſſible at any rate to engage them.

A Greek built a houſe, and planted a large garden on a piece of ground which had been poſſeſſed by his family near fourſcore years: all the *Hoggets*, or deeds of conveyance, were in his hands, paſſed in due form of law by the original Turkiſh proprietor from whom the eſtate had been purchaſed. He nevertheleſs found himſelf ſuddenly attacked with a law-ſuit by a grandſon of that Turk, who declared that his grandfather had

had not ſold the ground; that as his father and he had been long abſent on the Grand Seignor's ſervice in the Perſian war, they could not have put in their claim before; but that he had now the witneſſes to prove that the Greek's deeds of conveyance were abſolutely falſe, and therefore inſiſted to be put in poſſeſſion of his eſtate.

The only reſource the Greek had left was, to remove his ſuit from an inferiour court, to which he was ſummoned, to the Vizir's divan; and this, as he was under foreign protection, he eaſily obtained. His intention by that ſtep was not to bring it to a hearing; he knew that the witneſſes againſt him were ready, and that he ſhould inevitably loſe his cauſe; but the uſe he made of it, was to bribe ſome conſiderable officers of the Porte, to threaten and deter his adverſary; whilſt underhand he employed others to bring him

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to a compoſition, by which means he ſtopped all farther proceedings, tho' at no inconſiderable expence.

Theſe caſes happen daily to Chriſtians and Jews; eſpecially ſuch as the Turks ſuſpect, or know, to be opulent; often amongſt the Turks themſelves, but with more caution, as they can out-witneſs each other with greater facility, and, as in contentions of this ſort, the weight of metal will generally cruſh the poorer antagoniſt. Hence it may appear, how precarious are all purchaſes of lands or houſes, made by Chriſtians or Jews in Turkey; and yet it is their ruling paſſion to poſſeſs both.

A main defence or proof in any depending cauſe, is a *Fetvah*, the previous opinion or deciſion of the *Mufti*. The caſe is put to him in fictitious names, and concludes with the demand, Whether *Zayd* has, or has not, a right againſt

Omar? Under this is written the *Mufti*'s anſwer, which is ſimply, *He has*, or, *He has not.*—*He can*, or, *He cannot.* At the bottom of the paper the *Mufti* ſigns his name, always ſubſcribing himſelf, "The poor ſervant of God."

Now, generally, this "poor ſervant of God" never reads the caſe; but leaves the whole conſideration of it to his *Fetvah Emini*, or deputy, who, is generally well bribed before-hand; he ſtates the caſe in his own manner, and inſtructs the *Mufti* how he ſhould ſubſcribe it. This is ſo true, that there frequently appear oppoſite *Fetvahs* in the ſame cauſe; ſo that when a party thinks himſelf ſecure in the *Mufti*'s deciſion, he finds it of no effect in court, nor liſtened to, but often totally rejected.

One principal uſe to be made of them is, that when the judge is well ſecured by a bribe, though on the unjuſt ſide, he will lay a ſtreſs on the de-

ciſion of the *Mufti* as perfectly juſt, and ſhelter his own iniquity under that ſanction; or at the worſt, when contradictory *Fetvahs* appear, he may favour the unjuſt by exhorting the contending parties to an accommodation.

Falſe witneſſes ſhould be puniſhed according to the *Koran*; however, that happens but ſeldom. Now and then a notorious vagrant and offender, detected in his perjury, if it be in a cauſe againſt ſome great man, is led through the ſtreets on an aſs, with his face towards the tail, and an inſcription declaring him a *Schat*, or falſe witneſs. But even this is ſeldom ſeen, except it be on the acceſſion of a Sultan. A new reign is generally uſhered in by ſome ſuch examples. The prince declares he will rule according to law, juſtice, and truth: as a proper warning therefore to the people, the Vizir lays hold of

half a dozen of theſe witneſſes, and executes that pompous ſentence. A puniſhment ſo trivial has rather a ridiculous than a ſerious effect; ſo that the city of Conſtantinople ſwarms with theſe wretches: but were it even capital, it may be juſtly thought their numbers would not diminiſh; for they are encouraged by the men of the law, as the principal means by which their judges, who are temporary, and almoſt annually removed, make ſudden fortunes, ſo as to enable them to ſubſiſt whilſt they are out of office.

To do their courts of law all the juſtice I can, I ſhall conclude with two remarkable deciſions, one of which fell under my own knowledge; the other I have been told is well atteſted.

A ſhip freighted at Alexandria by Turks, to convey them and their merchandize, conſiſting in rice and dates,

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to Conſtantinople, met with a violent ſtorm in the paſſage. The maſter told thoſe freighters who were on board, that he could not ſave the ſhip, nor their lives, but by throwing into the ſea all the goods upon deck.

They conſented not only for themſelves, but for other freighters, who were at Conſtantinople. When the ſhip arrived there, thoſe who had been on boaſd joined with the others, to ſue the maſter of the ſhip, in order to recover the value of the goods he had thrown over-board. The *Moulah* of Galata, before whom he was ſummoned, had the caſe fully repreſented to him; and his deputy, as uſual, had the promiſe of a reward.

When the parties appeared, and the witneſſes were examined, the *Moulah* reflected a-while, took down his book, and gravely opening it, told them, "the

book declared, that the maſter ſhould pay the true value of thoſe very goods;" that is, what the freighters could prove by witneſſes any one would give for them, or what they were really worth on board of the ſhip, at the very moment the maſter was conſtrained to throw them into the ſea; the only means by which he could ſave the lives of the paſſengers, amongſt whom were the perſons who now ſued him for it.

The freighters ran out of court to find witneſſes; but the judge, who knew it was no object on which any evidence would, or could dare to appear, without further heſitation gave his written decree in favour of the maſter.

The ſecond caſe was before a young *Cadi* at Smyrna. A poor man claimed a houſe which a rich man had uſurped. The former produced his deeds

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and inſtruments to prove his right, but the latter had provided a number of witneſſes to invalidate them; and to ſupport their evidence the more effectually, he preſented the *Cadi* with a bag containing five hundred ducats: the *Cadi* received it. When it came to a hearing, the poor man told his ſtory, produced his writings, but wanted witneſſes, that moſt eſſential and only valid proof of the merits of his cauſe.

The other, provided with witneſſes, laid his whole ſtreſs on them, and on his adverſary's defect in law, who could produce none: he urged the *Cadi* therefore to give ſentence in his favour.

After the moſt preſſing ſollicitations, the judge calmly drew out from under his ſopha the bag of five hundred ducats, which the rich man had given him as a bribe; ſaying to him very

gravely, " You have been much miſ-
" taken in the ſuit; for if the poor
" man could bring no witneſſes in con-
" firmation of his right, I myſelf can
" produce at leaſt five hundred:" he then threw him the bag with reproach and indignation, and decreed the houſe to the poor plaintiff.

Such inſtances may happen once in an age, and deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity; and, indeed, they are frequently related by the Turks themſelves, as moſt extraordinary and uncommon examples.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Ambaſſadors,—and their Audiences.

THE Turks have properly no idea of the law of nations: they conſider themſelves as the only nation on earth, and regulate their whole conduct with others on poſitive compact, ſpontaneous conceſſions, or uſage and cuſtom.

Foreign ambaſſadors, therefore, have no other ſecurity but written conceſſions, of which they have copies, or ſuch privileges unwritten, as their predeceſſors made uſe of.

No longer than about fifty years ago, a Vizir, *Jin Aly Baſhaw*, thought them only civil ſpies, and was for removing the reſidence of ſuch troubleſome gueſts to the Prince's-Iſland, nine miles from Conſtantinople.

As the trading powers remote from the Turks have no reciprocal advantages to grant them, their ambaſſadors in Turkey muſt ſubmit to ſuch terms as the government pleaſes to allow; and it is more ſurpriſing their capitulations or conceſſions have been ſo well obſerved, than if they had been totally neglected.

When there were only four ambaſſadors and one reſident in Turkey, the character was ſupported with greater dignity, and held in higher eſteem by the Turks.

It is true, that their method of living was not the moſt ſociable, but yet it ſeemed the beſt calculated to engage reſpect and eſteem. They copied the manners of the great men among the Turks; viſiting rarely; but when they did, it was with all the pomp of Eaſtern oſtentation: they dreſſed for that day in the moſt ſumptuous manner, had

had their ſervants in rich liveries, and five or ſeven led horſes, were it only to croſs a narrow ſtreet. They never appeared in the ſtreets on common occaſions, nor went over from Pera, where their reſidence is, to Conſtantinople, but with all the pomp and ſhew of repreſenting the perſon of a great monarch: if to viſit Sancta Sophia, or to ſee a *Beiram*, it was with written commands furniſhed to them by the Porte, who took care to have them eſcorted and attended by proper officers: in ſhort, an ambaſſador was thought by the Lower Turks to be a different being from the others of his nation; he was ſeldom ſeen; and when he ſhewed himſelf, he appeared with the ſplendor of the greateſt officers in their own court.

Within theſe thirty years, foreign miniſters of the ſecond order are increaſed,

creaſed, and with the four ambaſſadors make up ten.

The eager deſire the princes of Chriſtendom have ſhewn to obtain the Grand Seignor's friendſhip at any rate, has greatly heightened the enormous vanity of the Porte; and the increaſed number of miniſters has rendered the whole body leſs reſpectable in the eyes of the people.

If, perhaps, the ſame maxims could have ſubſiſted, which had formerly been the rule of conduct amongſt the four ambaſſadors, the ſame conſequences would have yet reſulted: but, however neceſſary it may be, men uſed to freedom, and to living in their own way, cannot eaſily ſubmit to ſuch conſtraint; and, indeed, there are few who can ſuffice to themſelves, or find a ſufficient fund of entertainment in their own minds. A tacit compact

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may exiſt for a few years among four, but it is almoſt impoſſible among ten: ſo that, as difficult as it was formerly to ſee an ambaſſador, you now meet them, or miniſters of the ſecond rank, whom the people have not learnt to diſtinguiſh from them, at every corner of the ſtreets, and in every part of the city. They make no ſcruple, at preſent, to viſit an Armenian, a Greek, or Jew, to run over to a *Beiram*, or any publick ſhew: ſometimes they meet with an inſult, which they conceal; often with a puſh, which an inſolent Turk will croſs the way to give them; and is commonly followed with the epithet *Ghiaour*, or infidel, the Turkiſh epithet of deteſtation and contempt.

If an accident of the moſt ſerious nature were to happen to them in Conſtantinople, they can expect little or no ſatisfaction; for the Porte would immediately throw it on their own imprudence,

prudence, and tell them plainly, as they have done on ſuch occaſions, that ambaſſadors ſhould not expoſe themſelves in a crowd, but acquaint the Porte when they have buſineſs abroad, and then they would be properly ſecured from inſult.

In this ſituation, where public miniſters are admitted on ſtipulated conditions and only cuſtomary privileges, as eaſily withdrawn as granted, it behoves them more particularly to live with great circumſpection; to ſupport dignity with the Turks, and maintain decency and order in their families.

Wherever this conduct is duly obſerved and practiſed, few inconveniencies have ever ariſen in Turkey. With ſuch a demeanor the ambaſſador will find a ſatisfaction in himſelf, eaſe and order in his family, no revels amongſt his domeſtics, no riots and no inſults; and conſequently no complaints made

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to himſelf, or to the Porte, both of which will otherwiſe too frequently happen. The Turks have a homely proverb, which they have not improperly applied on ſuch occaſions: "the fiſh "ſtinks firſt at the head;" meaning, That if the ſervant is diſorderly, it is becauſe the maſter is ſo.

The dignity and importance aſſumed by ambaſſadors in their repreſentative character was, for ſome ages, it ſhould ſeem, thought too much on a level with perſonal ſovereignty, to admit of a fixed reſidence, or permanency at any court.

In thoſe times, therefore, ambaſſadors were ſent only on very extraordinary, and temporary occaſions; as, on ſettling ſome immediate important point in conteſt; on a negotiation of marriage; or, more generally, on the concluſion of a long and bloody war; probably, as a public mark of ſin-

cere reconciliation, and as proper notice to the ſubjects for their future conduct, authenticating the ſecurity of their mutual intercourſe.

The Turks religiouſly obſerve this latter very ancient cuſtom: ambaſſadors never appear reciprocally but after a war; and wherever the frontier is removed by the events of that war, there the exchange of ambaſſadors from the two courts is made.

As ſoon as the ambaſſador paſſes on the Turkiſh frontier, the Grand Seignor is conſidered as his hoſt, and the officer who receives him, ſtiles him the Grand Seignor's *Muſaphir*, his gueſt; whether it is by ancient cuſtom amongſt them, a remnant of the general hoſpitality of former times, or from the reſpect in which they hold the office of ambaſſador; or whether it be only a parade of the Grand Seignor's power and magnificence; whatever

ever be the motive, he is, immediately provided with every neceſſary for his journey, or a conſiderable allowance is given him in money, which is continued during his ſtay at Conſtantinople.

The ambaſſador from a commercial power claims the ſame right, and enjoys it, though in a leſs degree; his neceſſaries, however, are fully ſupplied: but as ſoon as the journey ends, that emolument ceaſes.

A Vizir *Aga* is ſent by the Porte to receive him on the frontier, and to conduct him ſafe; his route is traced, his reſting-days in the ſeveral towns are fixed, as alſo the *Thaym*, or allowance, he is to have for his ſubſiſtence, and the number of horſes and carts allotted for his ſervants and baggage: he is treated with reſpect and diſtinction, and as well provided as the road will afford: the ſeveral diſtricts of the

country

country furniſh the expence, and it is paſſed at the treaſury in the article of their contributions.

The countries through which the Chriſtian miniſters paſs, are generally gainers by it: for if one dollar is neceſſary to defray their expence, in adding another as a regale to the *Vizir-Aga*, they obtain from him a receipt for four, which they paſs to the Grand Seignor as really paid.

It is worth remarking with what incredible precaution, politeneſs, and lenity, the commiſſary, or *Vizir-Aga*, treats the Turks in the courſe of this journey; but when he comes among the Bulgarian Chriſtians, if the ambaſſador does not interfere, he will not reſtrain himſelf from uſing them with the crueleſt oppreſſion and indignity.

The flattering proſpect with which an ambaſſador is iſſued into the Grand Seignor's territories, gives him not only the

the hopes of a continuance, but of an agreeable reception and reſidence near the throne of the prince.

When he arrives, he is welcomed by a meſſage from the Vizir, flattered and careſſed by a number of Greeks, Armenians, and Jewiſh dependants, with a ſervility the loweſt and baſeſt, and moſt diſguſting.

The firſt opening of his function is to the Vizir: they both ſeat themſelves, the ambaſſador on a ſtool, the Vizir on the corner of his ſofa; mutual civilities paſs between them, without any variation in language ſince the empire began. He is told, "that as long as his maſter obſerves the laws of friendſhip with them, the Grand Seignor will correſpond." The honours of the *Caftan*, ſweetmeats, coffee, ſherbet, and perfume, are preſented to him; but when he departs they clap their hands, hiſs him out of the room, and

two officers who attend him, one on each ſide, attempt at half-way, to make him turn and ſalute the Vizir, who never ſtirs off his corner: he who forgets his character may be ſurpriſed into it; but he who does not, keeps on his pace, and drives on his leaders.

On an occaſion that offered of adjuſting the ceremonial with an ambaſſador who thought himſelf offended, this uſage was redreſſed, and it is to be hoped continues no longer.

How greatly ſoever ſuch indecency may ſhock the delicacy of a man jealous of his maſter's dignity, he has a much more humiliating ſcene to go through, at his audience of the Grand Seignor.

The time appointed for the ambaſſador to be over the water * is the morn-

* The ambaſſador's houſe is in the ſuburb of Pera, ſeparated from Conſtantinople by a ſmall bay or

ing,

ing, at the break of day: on his landing he is received by the *Chiaoux Baſhi*, or marſhal of the court, in a houſe deſtined for that purpoſe, the ſtairs of which are no better than a ladder, and the room fit rather for the reception of a Poliſh Jew than for a man of his dignity.

Often, and indeed generally, the *Chiaoux Baſhi* is not there at the ambaſſador's arrival; but the common excuſe is, that he is detained in the moſche at his prayers.

When the firſt civilities are over, an inſinuation is made to the ambaſſador, that he muſt expect the *Chiaoux Baſhi* will ride at his right hand. This part of the ceremonial, long conteſted, but never given up by the Turks, ex-

creek of the Boſphorus; it is the port for ſhipping: this he muſt paſs whenever he comes into Conſtantinople.

cept only when they have been beaten into it, leaves the ambaſſador the ſole reſource of proteſting; all other oppoſition is in vain: he, however, inſiſts, that a gentleman of his retinue ſhall ride at his left. With whatever ſeeming reluctance they admit this claim, if urged with proper reſolution it ſucceeds. It has indeed been often productive of ſerious conteſtation and diſorder in the march; and ſometimes almoſt of a ſuſpenſion of the audience.

After waiting ſome time in that miſerable chamber at the water-ſide, the Vizir's command arrives to let them know, that he is ready to depart from the Porte to the Seraglio. The cavalcade then begins, and marches in ſtate to the Vizir's door, where, whether it rains, hails, or ſnows, the ambaſſador muſt remain on horſeback in the ſtreet to ſee his pomp, and to ſalute his highneſs and his whole court,

as

as they paſs by. When they are near the gate of the Seraglio, the ambaſſador's train advances ſlowly: on his arrival, he finds the Vizir ſeated in the divan-chamber.

In the middle of this chamber an old ſquare ſtool is prepared for the ambaſſador; and he is there fixed, if the ſtool can ſupport him, at leaſt for two hours, hearing the deciſion of cauſes he does not underſtand. But if it be a pay-day for the Janiſſaries and Spahis, and this the Turks generally chuſe, he is entertained with ſeeing about two thouſand four hundred yellow bags of money told out and diſtributed; and this laſts at leaſt four hours; ſo that in a cold day, without a furred coat, his very vitals may freeze; and at any time the ſpine of his back muſt ſuffer cruelly, for he has nothing to lean againſt to ſupport or eaſe it.

After this part of the ſcene is over a new one ſucceeds: the dinner is ſerved; the ambaſſador ſits on his ſtool, the Vizir on his elevated ſopha; a round table is brought between them, at each ſide of which is placed a handkerchief folded up to wipe the mouth and hands; fifty diſhes, ſucceeding each other, every half minute, come in like a torrent. A head-ſervant ſtands near the ambaſſador with his arms bare: his office is to tear a fowl in pieces, and to lay the choiceſt morſels of it before him, all which he performs with his fingers; he commends without ceaſing the excellent dinner, whilſt the Vizir preſſes his gueſt to eat, and, perhaps, enters into familiar converſation with him: and at the laſt, to crown the repaſt, one draught of ſherbet is ſerved.

The Grand Seignor all the while peeps through a dark window to ſee the

the whole entertainment, and as ſoon as it is over, retires to his audience-room.

The *Chiaoux Baſhi* enters with his *talkiſh*, or order in writing to the Vizir, to tell him, that the monarch is on his throne: he receives it with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, firſt touches his forehead with it, then kiſſes it, and having read it, puts it into his breaſt, and departs.

After his departure, the ambaſſador is told he muſt croſs the court-yard to go to the audience: he is preceded by the *Chiaoux Baſhi* with all his officers and attendants, richly clad.

But he does not immediately enter the audience-room; he is ſtopt in the court-yard, where, under a tree, by way of bench, is a ſingle old board, on which, at other times, grooms, oſtlers, and ſcullions lie to ſun themſelves, though it ſometimes ſerves them for leſs decent purpoſes: on this, that

he ſhould not wait too long ſtanding; they deſire him to ſit, till he is veſted with the *Caftan.* They do not examine whether this bench is wet or dry, clean or dirty, nor whether it rains or ſnows. As ſoon as the ceremony of veſting is over, two *Capigis Baſhis* ſeize him by the ſhoulders, and conduct him in. He finds the monarch at one corner placed on his ſopha, higher by much than common, and covered with a canopy; his legs rather pending: at his ſide lies a rich ſword, with ſome regalia. He eyes the ambaſſador aſkew, hears his harangue, which, were it ſpoken with the eloquence of Cicero, would gain little attention: nor does it import in what language it is pronounced; for the real one is given in to the Vizir before, tranſlated by the Dragoman, or interpreter of the Porte; who, after the ambaſſador has finiſhed, repeats it extempore, in the

the Turkiſh language, to the Grand Seignor.

The monarch ſpeaks a few words to the Vizir, who advances towards the middle of the room, and anſwers the ambaſſador in their uſual common-place language: this the interpreter explains, and thus the audience finiſhes, and the ambaſſador is diſmiſſed.

After all is over, he expects to be delivered from the tediouſneſs of that day, and without farther obſtacle to mount his horſe, and be gone: he mounts, it is true; but in the ſecond quadrangle of the Seraglio, he is ſtopped, and obliged to wait on horſeback under a tree, until the Vizir paſſes before him on his return home; and then he is ſuffered to depart.

Perſonal vanity, or national pride, has not permitted Chriſtian writers to ſet this ceremonial in its true light; nay, ſome ambaſſadors have been for

ſoftening

ſoftening and palliating the worſt of its indecorum. They have gone ſo far as even to pretend, that the preſents they carry, and which they are obliged to give at every audience, reflect honour on themſelves as the givers, but not on the Turks as receivers.

Whoever is acquainted with the Oriental practice, and knows the oſtentation, pride, and haughtineſs of Turkiſh government, muſt know that they look upon, and conſider ſuch preſents as actual tributes.

There is one of their neighbouring courts who have taken it in a true, and a becoming ſenſe; and ſtipulated in their treaties, that preſents ſhall be reciprocal, that they ſhall be exchanged, but not inſolently exacted.

We may be ſurpriſed that other courts have not followed this example; but what appears more ſurpriſing, is, that very court never took into ſerious conſideration

ſideration the nature of the ceremonial, and the indecent uſage of their repreſentatives. It is ſurely ſtrange that the Imperial court ſhould have neglected it at the treaty of Paſſarowitz, ſince they thought it expedient at that time to make it an expreſs article, "That their ambaſſadors ſhould appear "at theſe audiences in what dreſs they "pleaſed." For, before that time, they were obliged to uſe the Turkiſh habit. They moſt certainly were not informed of all the mortifying particulars I have related, or they choſe to paſs over with contempt, what might appear to them only the vain oſtentation of a Turkiſh court.

I muſt, however, obſerve, that except the mortifications which attend an audience, it may on the whole be ſaid, that if ambaſſadors are not incumbered with diſagreeable buſineſs, ſuch as may interfere with the intereſts

of

of Turkiſh individuals, or of the Porte in general, they may live in Turkey with great dignity, eaſe, and ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XII.

Of Negotiations in general.

PROVIDENCE has, for good and wiſe purpoſes, implanted in human nature, not only a principle of ſelf-preſervation, but almoſt likewiſe as generally a favourable opinion of ourſelves: both theſe principles, if rightly directed, tend to a moſt ſalutary end, the one to preſerve and reſtrain men from laviſhing away a life they did not give themſelves; the other, to raiſe a proper ſpirit of emulation, that individuals might be excited to become uſeful to each other, and to the community of which they are members.

But

But the misfortune is, that ſelf-love continually miſleads and deceives mankind: they are too apt to be prejudiced in their own favour, and think their powers and capacities can carry them through the moſt arduous and complicated undertakings, of which they have ſcarce a ſingle idea, before they enter upon them.

Hence I have obſerved that, with reſpect to foreign politics, moſt men are apt to over-rate their abilities; we ſcarce meet with one that has been abroad, who does not think but he could greatly diſtinguiſh himſelf, were he ſo happy as to be ſent out a miniſter or negotiator. Their vanity is ſuch, that they imagine they ſhould make as great a figure in negotiation and public buſineſs at foreign courts, as in matters of taſte, in richneſs of dreſs, in ſplendid equipage, and the gaudy pageantry of feaſts and entertainments.

Unfortunately thoſe that have this high idea of their merit are greatly miſtaken: miracles are ceaſed, and neither theſe nor any other men are bleſt with divine inſpiration, or any extraordinary gift of intuition. But we know for certain, that the mind of man is formed to improve by time, labour, and application, as well as by experience, which contributes to ſtore it with knowledge; that every profeſſion has its peculiar qualifications, which are neceſſary to adminiſter it with ſucceſs, and none more ſo than that of a foreign negotiator.

A modern philoſopher * has told us, "That all knowledge ariſes from ex-"perience; that, therefore, new ex-"perience is the beginning of new "knowledge; and the increaſe of expe-"rience the beginning of the increaſe "of knowledge."

* Hobbes.

The

The occurrences of life or buſineſs, which we paſs through in a long ſeries of years, ſufficiently confirm the truth of this obſervation.

Zamoſki the great chancellor of Poland, who had commanded the army of that nation, raiſed kings to the throne, refuſed the crown, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo many illuſtrious actions, was looked upon by all his cotemporaries as the wiſeſt man of the age in which he lived. After he had conducted buſineſs of the higheſt importance, for many years with great reputation, he happened one day to be ſurpriſed by ſome of his friends in his cloſet, leaning on his elbow, and buried in a profound reverie. Upon their inquiring into the ſubject of his meditation, he made anſwer, that he had been endeavouring to recollect the various tranſactions of his paſt life, and that he was aſtoniſhed and con-

founded by a view of the great number of errors he had committed, and of the dangers to which he had expoſed the nation, merely for want of ſufficient experience to direct him.

If, therefore, practical knowledge is to be acquired only by experience, the firſt ſtep any one ſhould take, who is intended for a political employment, ſhould be to endeavour to ſupply the want of practice. There are two ſtudies which may, in this reſpect, be of great ſervice to him, I mean the ſtudy of books and that of men: though neither the one nor the other can ever fully anſwer that great end of experience; however, even the imperfect information which both can convey, may be of conſiderable utility.

All human affairs have a ſort of rotation; ſo that, in a certain period of years, the connexions and intereſts of princes and ſimilar circum-

ſtances

ſtances in the political world are reproduced: when caſes paſt can be properly adapted to thoſe preſent, and the conſequences reſulting from the former pointed out by ſubſequent facts, they help to ſurmount many difficulties, and throw a new weight into the ſcale of conviction.

The chief preparatory ſtudies of the foreign miniſter ſhould therefore be the interior conſtitution and exterior intereſts of his own country, that he may be able to anſwer any queſtion, and clear up any doubt, concerning them; for it would argue groſs ignorance, if he ſhould not be thoroughly acquainted with what both he and his country are ſo highly intereſted in. He ſhould likewiſe make it his ſtudy to attain a thorough knowledge of the general intereſts of the ſeveral princes of Europe; ſince the remarkable alteration they underwent in the laſt century,

by the treaty of Weſtphalia. But he ſhould endeavour to make a minute and particular inquiry into the real ſtate of thoſe intereſts during this century; and, more eſpecially, he ſhould examine how far the political and commercial intereſts of that court with which he is deſtined to negotiate, have been, and are connected with thoſe of his own court: whether they have varied; when, and on what motives and reaſons, as well as by what means they may again be united, to common and reciprocal advantage.

Many, I fear, will take it for granted, that the knowledge of books is ſuperfluous, and that the communicating of ſuch intelligence as they pick up at court, will be their chief employment. It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged that great affairs preſent themſelves only at certain periods; matters of importance do not every day occur: but

but even this ſeemingly trivial affair of writing ſuch news as he may be occaſionally informed of, becomes, if rightly conſidered, of much importance; for it will be found that it requires the knowledge of paſt alliances, connections, and intereſts of courts, which can be acquired only by reading their hiſtory, or ſuch authentic records of paſt facts as may be entirely depended upon; whence we may combine with their preſent ſituation, the probability, truth, or falſehood of the reports we hear, or ſuch as are confidently told us for truth.

We muſt be upon our guard againſt credulity and diſtruſt of every relator of political intelligence; for courts have ſometimes the ſkill to impoſe on the foreign miniſter, by means of artful intelligencers, ſo that he may be tempted either to alarm, or lull in profound ſecurity his own court, ac-

cording as they happen to have in view the gaining of ſome preſent or temporary point. Repeated miſtakes of this kind, or ſometimes one of importance, by which his court is miſled, will cauſe him to be conſidered as light and futile, and, of conſequence, as a man not fit to be employed in important tranſactions.

But, however uſeful or neceſſary ſuch information from books may be to the ſtateſman, it muſt be hoarded up like a treaſure, and produced only in caſe of an abſolute neceſſity. Pedantry and an affectation of learning are moſt likely to be conſidered by men of good underſtanding as vain parade and oſtentation, and, of conſequence, produce contempt; beſides, they may even pique and mortify the vanity of an ignorant man, who being ſenſible of his own defects, will look upon them as inſults, and reſent them accordingly.

But this is not the only taſk incumbent upon our negociator; for, with the ſtudies already mentioned, one more important, and perhaps more difficult, is to be blended; I mean that of human nature, which leads to that ſelf-knowledge ſo often recommended in the celebrated axiom of the ancient philoſophers, as including the ſum of all ſcience; *Noſce te ipſum*, KNOW THYSELF. So hard is this knowledge to be acquired that it falls to the lot of very few; it is, however, incumbent on thoſe who have the difficult part of the ſtateſman and negotiator to act, upon the great ſtage of the world, to deſcend into themſelves *in ſe deſcendere*, as Perſius expreſſes it; and, laying aſide all partiality and fondneſs for their own perſons, which moſt are too apt to idolize, take as fair a ſurvey as poſſible of their mental and animal powers; and, in order to diſcover how far the former are capable of maſter-

ing and ſubduing the latter, to weigh the energy and force of their paſſions, and labour to ſettle the whole human ſyſtem in an habitual, or, for a certain time, in a ſeeming apathy.

It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that the magnitude and extent of the immenſe book of the world, the labyrinth of human nature, and the perplexing ways of mankind, are beyond the reach of a young man's capacity. Experience alone can lead him to this knowledge, ſince thoſe who are grown grey in buſineſs, and quite hackneyed in the ways of men (as the celebrated Shakeſpeare expreſſes it) at the cloſe of a long life, are but ill able to trace the various windings and receſſes of the mind, or to unfold the complicated and hidden ſprings of the human heart.

The moſt therefore we can do, is to lay down ſome general rule for our conduct, however imperfect.

Mankind,

Mankind, with reſpect to their moral and intellectual qualities, may be conſidered under different views.

The wiſe man. He that thinks himſelf wiſe, that is, the artful cunning man, one of thoſe whoſe wiſdom Lord Bacon diſtinguiſhes by the name of *left-handed wiſdom*, which may be juſtly conſidered as folly.

Wiſdom and honeſty appear to be convertible terms; and nothing can be more juſt than the well-known popular maxim, That *honeſty is the beſt policy*. Wiſdom and honeſty ſeem, indeed, to be inſeparable; the wiſe man will not only ſee his duty, but his intereſt, in being honeſt.

Artifice and cunning imply a deviation from true wiſdom; and it is juſtly obſerved by the celebrated Rochefoucault, That they are ſigns of a mean underſtanding. Since, therefore, whoever deviates from true wiſdom, at

the ſame time, departs from honeſty, it follows that every man is a fool in the ſame degree he is a knave. Hence the characters of men may be reduced to two ſpecies; namely, the wiſe and honeſt; and the artful and cunning, that is, in other words, the fool and the knave.

There may be in ſome characters degrees of wiſdom, and in others degrees of folly and knavery. But as there can be nothing in the human compoſition abſolutely perfect, degrees muſt conſtitute the total of a character. The point is how to trace and diſcover theſe characters.

All general principles are vague and uncertain. A connection of buſineſs with men is therefore the ſureſt criterion. The ſagacity of our young ſtateſman muſt conſpire to help his judgment. Something he muſt unavoidably venture, in order to acquire experience.

Sagacity and penetration reſult from the frame and make of the mind; uſe will bring them to perfection. Truth has its ſeat in the mind; or, perhaps, as an able * negotiator has obſerved, is in the blood: conſtant practice, however, will infix the root ſo deep that it will never be eradicated.

He muſt therefore immediately make it his ſtudy to mingle and incorporate with the very texture of the man, habitual truth, and with it thoſe great and rare virtues, its faithful attendants, patience, modeſty, and complaiſance.

Cloathed with this armour, he will find himſelf prepared for every event, and able to encounter with ſucceſs the wiſe and honeſt, the violent and ſelf-ſufficient, the tricking and artful man; he will have a thorough conviction, that the influence of theſe great and

* Temple's Miſcell.

amiable

amiable qualities in the moſt important and difficult diſcuſſions, will meet with the warm applauſe and approbation of the firſt, ſoften the vehemence and arrogance of the ſecond, and gently and without offence unveil the ſiniſter, deep deſigns of the third; hence he will command eſteem, cement confidence, and found his reputation on a ſolid baſis.

I am aware that ſuch doctrine will be conſidered as empty ſpeculation, or an Utopian and viſionary ſyſtem: it will be objected, that to mix truth with virtue and politics, is like blending ſweet with bitter, and that it is impoſſible to reduce it to practice. I once met with an eminent divine who appeared to be of that opinion, and who ſtarted with ſurpriſe, when I advanced theſe principles. In one ſenſe he might poſſibly be in the right; in eccleſiaſtical policy it may be found impracti-

impracticable; but I am ſure in civil it is not.

I will readily grant, that there was a time when political negotiations were made up of fraud, knavery, and chicane; and this was perhaps owing to a cauſe ſuſpected by few, I mean to the influence of ignorance and ſuperſtition. This was in the age when the underſtandings of men were ſo darkened by both, and their intellectual eyes ſo hood-winked by the friar's cowl, that truth and honeſty were entirely dependant upon the confeſſor, and mere acts of penance and devotion conſtituted the whole of religion.

Thus Lewis XIth of France, and his contemporaries, made all politics conſiſt in fraud and deceit; and prided themſelves in poſſeſſing thoſe pernicious qualities in perfection. Abſolution by penance was the ſure means of purification; the remedy was eaſy and

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at hand; ſo they went on ſinning and repenting.

Men are more enlightened in the preſent age; the maxims of corrupt policy are now exploded; common ſenſe has ſhewn mankind, that integrity of heart muſt dictate the trueſt policy; they act on greater and more generous principles; and we muſt be indeed unfortunate if we have men to deal with of a baſe degenerate turn of mind, who look upon tricking and low cunning as political wiſdom.

It may probably be aſked, how it is poſſible for a miniſter, in a variety of incidents and junctures, always to adhere to truth and retain the reputation of probity? The rule is ſimple and eaſy; prudence will ſuggeſt to him the *dicenda* and *tacenda*, what is proper to be ſaid, and what to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Regard to truth does not require that we ſhould ſay all

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we know, that we ſhould divulge our thoughts, or anſwer an ill-timed, impertinent queſtion: ſilence denies no truth; but when we ſpeak it ſhould be the truth to the beſt of our knowledge; we ſhould have an internal conviction that it is ſuch; we ſhould never advance falſe facts, nor deny true ones. —Even in caſe a political queſtion ſhould be aſked of a dangerous tendency to the buſineſs in hand, and thoſe who propoſe it ſhould be convinced the negotiator is fully informed of the matter, inſtead of having recourſe to equivocating and evaſions, he may tell them in a plain, open, honeſt way, that the queſtion is ill-timed, that he is not at liberty to enter into an explanation, or give them the ſatisfaction they require: when it is proper for him to anſwer, he will behave with his uſual candour.

I have

I have conſtantly known fair conduct ſucceſsful, and would therefore the more earneſtly recommend it: the honeſt and virtuous will highly approve of it, and artful men will at leaſt counterfeit and affect it; for all, and even the worſt of mankind, endeavour to carry a face of honeſty, and to ſet themſelves up as models of truth and probity.

Take a view of an oppoſite conduct, founded upon art and deceit; its baſis muſt be falſhood, and a lie laſts but for a day; one untruth draws an infinite ſeries of falſhoods after it; if we invent one, we muſt have recourſe to a thouſand more to ſecond and ſupport that. In this manner they will ſoon become habitual to us; and even when we afterwards ſpeak the language of truth, no body will believe us. We ſhall quickly be detected, and our character unmaſked and expoſed to the public.

public. All confidence will be withdrawn from us. The world never forgive a deceit; the self-love and vanity of mankind is too ſenſibly injured by it. When once the reputation of a negotiator is blaſted, he becomes the dread of all men, whether he converſes with them or not; he is hated even by thoſe who are as bad as himſelf, and becomes an object of ſcorn and contempt in every court to which his name reaches.

Independent of the beauty of truth, and the antecedent duty which lays a man under a moral obligation to adhere to it, political examples of the ſucceſs of both ſorts of conduct have fallen under my notice, which I may venture to recommend as eternal mementos to all negotiators.

A young miniſter, who had been for ſome time under a very able maſter, was ſent upon a conciliating ſcheme to

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one of the moſt conſiderable [illegible] Europe: the two powers were inveterately prejudiced againſt each other, inſomuch that there was but little or no probability of his ſucceſs. He had a ſet of men to deal with, who had the reputation of being the moſt conſummate negotiators of their age: the principal perſon with whom he was to tranſact buſineſs, was certainly one of the greateſt and ableſt men that the world ever produced. Our young negotiator, in his interviews with them all, acquitted himſelf with reputation, but was particularly approved by the premier; the affair was brought to a treaty, and concluded; thereby an axe was laid to the root of ſome of the moſt important difficulties which had long ſubſiſted with the utmoſt animoſity between the two powers. After all was ſettled and concluded, and our negotiator was waiting with ſome impa-

tience

tience to know his future deſtiny from his own court, he one morning received a note from the perſon who acted as firſt miniſter, to deſire a ſhort conference with him: when he waited on him, the great man began by aſking what deſigns he had in view with reſpect to himſelf; whether he thought it was the intention of his ſovereign to continue him in the poſt he then occupied, or, as his merit might juſtly claim ſuch a reward, to place him in a higher character at that or any other court? He anſwered with great modeſty, that he had no will of his own, that he was reſigned to obey his royal maſter in whatever ſtation he ſhould think proper to place him; but that he would, doubtleſs, look upon it as a high honour to continue at that court.

The other thereupon told him that his reaſon for aſking him ſo many

queſtions was, that as he had been concerned with him in a long ſeries of as difficult and intricate negotiations as had been carried on for many years, and he had not only acquitted himſelf with great ability, but acted on all occaſions with the utmoſt truth and candour, he wiſhed he might continue at that court as long as he lived; that this was likewiſe the deſire of his maſter and all his colleagues; ſo that, if it were agreeable to his own inclination, he would undertake to have him appointed to reſide with them in a higher character. The great man kept his promiſe, and our * young ne-

* This excellent perſon was the late Sir Thomas Robinſon, who died Lord Grantham: a man of uncommon penetration, judgment, and knowledge; the great celebrity of whoſe public tranſactions abroad was only honoured at home by a tranſient remembrance. From the univerſity he ſet out on foreign affairs, under that great and able ſtateſman Horace, late lord Walpole; he was ſeveral years at

gotiator

gotiator reſided there many years, in high eſteem for his candour and extraordinary political abilities.

Two other characters I knew, which make a ſtriking contraſt with that above-mentioned: both had lived long in an oriental climate, and were of conſequence uſed to the eaſtern manners; they were men of no extenſive

Paris his ſecretary of the embaſſy, in which ſtation he went through immenſe buſineſs with great application and uncommon ability. At the important criſis, when cardinal Fleury, after great mutual confidence and truſt in our court, grew tired, and projected a defection; the ambaſſador, timely informed, reſolved to be beforehand with his eminence; he therefore engaged his own court to permit him to manage a conciliation with the court of Vienna. For this purpoſe he diſpatched, very privately, Mr. Robinſon thither, who, with great prudence and honour, accompliſhed the arduous negotiation of the treaty of 1731, curtailed all diſputes, royal and electoral, with that court; and remained there many years after, in the higheſt reputation, and often the umpire of foreign affairs between ſeveral other courts in Europe.

knowledge, or profound capacity; but had contracted the habits of the country, and ſeemed to glory in ſurpaſſing the moſt ſubtle, cunning, artful Greek or Jew. They did not exert their abilities in their dealings with ſuch people only, but were notorious for extending them to others, and to every courſe of buſineſs they were engaged in.

With their miniſterial colleagues they indeed played a higher game; for, in order to carry on deception more effectually, they aſſumed the hypocritical maſk of religion. One of them boaſted that he had ſo thoroughly ſtudied the Bible, that in caſe the whole book ſhould happen to be deſtroyed, or totally loſt, he would undertake (as it is ſaid to have happened to the Pentateuch after the captivity) to furniſh a complete copy from his memory. The other, inſinuating and crafty,

crafty, was always very kind to his chaplain, took care to counterfeit great zeal for religion, and was generally found reading the Bible, or had it on a table hard by him.

It was, notwithſtanding, notorious that both theſe men were conſtantly concerned in wrangling and diſputes; that they were continually intriguing at the court where they reſided, with a view either to oppreſs or intimidate innocent men, and extort money from them to put an end to their perſecution.

In their dealings with other miniſters, their conduct conſiſted almoſt intirely in deceit and falſhood; and one of them, in affairs of the laſt importance in which the honour, dignity, and intereſt of his maſters were equally at ſtake, by a moſt ſiniſter and infamous impoſition, ſacrificed them all, and betrayed them to their natural enemy; it was not his intention to act as

he did, but ſo perverted was his mind by diſhoneſty, that he could not ſee that the ſtraight and plain road of integrity would lead him with certainty to his true end. In a word, from their general characters it was well known, that they never examined truth or falſhood, right or wrong, and that they ſcrupled no means to gain their ends; they were therefore hated and ſhuned, and all who had any dealings with them took care to be as much upon their guard as a prudent man would in a crowd, who is afraid of having his pocket picked.

After a reſidence of many years in the Eaſt, they were both recalled; one by the influence of family intereſt, to fill a poſt of importance at one of the leaſt conſiderable courts in Europe; but no ſooner was his deſtination known, but that court poſitively refuſed receiving him: others were

attempted, but with as little ſucceſs. At laſt he was ſent to a court where he had nothing to do, and where it was a matter of perfect indifference at that time, whether he was a rogue or an honeſt man.

The other had the ſame fate; his intriguing ſpirit was dreaded at home, and it was therefore propoſed to ſend him upon two foreign miſſions; but his character was ſo well known at both places, that they refuſed to receive him: he however contrived to wriggle himſelf into employments at home, perhaps by the aſſiſtance of his quondam chaplains, but died, and left behind him a family to be provided for by the charity of better Chriſtians than himſelf.

Theſe examples abundantly prove that integrity of heart, and an honeſt, candid behaviour, lead on to fortune, even at courts; and that their contra-

ries generally involve men in contempt and miſery. In a word, in political tranſactions, as well as in all other occurrences of life, virtue is generally found to be its own reward.

When a young negotiator arrives at the court where he is to reſide, he ſhould endeavour to appear with an open, eaſy, chearful countenance. An air of reſerve and ſupercilious gravity alarms half mankind, and is apt to create ſuſpicions; he ſhould be penſive in the cloſet only. When he is in company let him ſeem to enjoy it: in order to render himſelf agreeable he ſhould intirely diveſt himſelf of his national prejudices; he ſhould avoid giving the preference to the manners and cuſtoms of his own country, and under-rating or diſparaging thoſe of the place he reſides at; on the contrary, he ſhould endeavour to adopt the latter, and conform to them as much as poſ-

ſible,

ſible. This conduct he ought to obſerve, not only in great things, and of real importance, but in ſuch as are, ſeemingly trivial and inſignificant; the mere faſhion of a coat, the cock of a hat, the turn of a toupee, may flatter national vanity, and conciliate eſteem. For there are in all countries ten ſuperficial, light perſons for one wiſe man; and it is not under-rating our own good ſenſe to fall in with ſuch follies as are of no conſequence; it is the wiſeſt way to conform to the multitude in indifferent matters, when we are obliged to live with them.

The next and the grand point which a negotiator ſhould have in view, is to come at the knowledge of the true character of the prince at whoſe court he reſides; not from report, for that is often fallacious, but from facts. He ſhould endeavour to find out who poſſeſſes his chief confidence, and upon

on what grounds: in ſome courts it is a chancellor, in others a ſecretary of ſtate; ſome have councils before which all foreign buſineſs is laid, others have principal clerks who tranſact affairs under the ſecretaries. Our negotiators ſhould ſtudy the true character of each of theſe counſellors, the extent of their knowledge, the influence which it has in council, the degree of credit each is poſſeſſed of with the prince; but above all, which of theſe clerks has the chief ſhare in the diſpatch of buſineſs, and whether they act as creatures of the prince, or of the prime miniſter.

It often happens in courts, that men, to all appearance obſcure, are ſecretly poſſeſſed of the higheſt degree of credit with the ſovereign; that they are in fact prime miniſters, though they have not the title; or if they do not direct the maſter immediately, there is, generally

rally ſpeaking, ſome one of them who directs and determines the prime miniſter almoſt in all things; for neither can the prince bear alone the whole burthen of the immenſe buſineſs of an extenſive government, nor can any one man bear it for him: the human mind is too limited for this; princes and miniſters muſt truſt and confide in others; and as all buſineſs is principally tranſacted in writing, the clerks in public office are, in great meaſure, the ſprings that put the whole machine of government in motion, and by whom the firſt miniſter is whirled to whatever point they think proper, and that often without being himſelf ſenſible of it.

Our negotiator ſhould therefore be careful to cultivate the friendſhip of all theſe perſons; he ſhould endeavour to form connections with them, and eſtabliſh a mutual confidence be-

tween

tween them and him, by communicating ſuch intelligence as he can, conſiſtently with his duty——previous, ſecret conſultations about buſineſs, will greatly contribute to gain him their confidence, and be a probable, if not a certain, means to inſure its ſucceſs.

One of the principal courts of Europe furniſhes us with a recent example, how greatly buſineſs has been retarded, and foreign miniſters injured, by neglecting to obſerve this rule. The prince, a perſon of great knowledge and ſagacity, had tried the talents of all his noblemen round, examined their virtues and qualifications, and ſtudied their characters: after the death of one truly great man, whom he had intruſted with the adminiſtration of his affairs, he ſeemed to have loſt all confidence in the reſt of his courtiers; for though he did not love, he greatly eſteemed

teemed the deceaſed, and ſoon became ſenſible that he was poſſeſſed of many ſhining qualities, of which thoſe he had left behind him were utterly deſtitute: he knew he might always depend upon his capacity and penetration, as well as upon his candour and integrity of heart. A learned foreigner had been led to that court by literary purſuits; he happened to be recommended to a perſon of the firſt rank as ſecretary, by which means he got a ſmall place under the government; he afterwards was, in conſideration of his great abilities and uncommon application, made ſecretary of the council. In the courſe of buſineſs he happened to be taken notice of by the prince, and was honoured with his converſation: the monarch ſoon diſcovered his great talents for every branch of ſtate-affairs; the ardour of his zeal for his ſervice, and his great integrity of heart, ſo that

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he immediately beſtowed upon him all his favour and confidence. The chancellor retained the dignity and honours annexed to his office; received applications, lived grandly, and treated with foreign miniſters as if he ſtill had the power. His anſwers, however, to thoſe miniſters were ſuggeſted to him by the other, who prompted him upon every occaſion; and the intercourſe between them being rare, buſineſs was retarded and began to languiſh. At laſt, ſome of the moſt ſagacious foreign miniſters diſcovering the ſecret, and that it was no diſadvantage to forfeit the chancellor's favour, made their immediate application to the other; and thoſe who inſinuated themſelves beſt into his intimacy, were moſt ſure of ſucceſs. This eminent ſtateſman, who was, as it were, forced into the high ſtation of prime miniſter, continued many years to ſerve his maſter,

ter, and attend at conferences, though he paſſed the greateſt part of his time in his ſtudy, wrapped up in a venerable night-gown, and ſeated in an elbow-chair, with pen in hand, compoſing volumes, and governing the kingdom with the entire confidence of his ſovereign.

Upon the demiſe of that prince, a report was induſtriouſly propagated that he had entirely loſt his credit at court, and was reduced to the office of a ſimple ſcribe: the ſucceſſor, however, ſaw reaſon to ſupport him, and had the good ſenſe to continue him in the adminiſtration. The new miniſters upon their arrival, indiſcreetly giving credit to the public report, ſeemed rather to deſpiſe than to pay their court to him; two of them who were ſent with extraordinary commiſſions, upon affairs of the higheſt importance, and which required the utmoſt diſpatch,

had

had endeavoured, during ſeveral weeks to bring their buſineſs to an iſſue, but without ſucceſs. They grew impatient of this delay, and were upon the point of returning as they came; when another perſon, excited by the connexions which ſubſiſted between his court and theirs, and the neceſſity of bringing the affair to a concluſion, made them ſenſible of the unreaſonableneſs of their prejudices, and not only prevailed upon them to apply to, but to fix the time and the manner in which they were to treat with this very gentleman, who finiſhed their buſineſs in as many days, as they had been weeks deſponding before.

Many other conſiderations might be added on foreign negotiation; but theſe general obſervations are intended, only as preparatory to the more particular ones on the negotiations in Turkey.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the manner of conducting negotiations with the Porte.

AFTER this general view of the manner of treating with Chriſtian courts, let us turn our thoughts towards one leſs known, the Ottoman Porte. This the reader has, no doubt, long expected, and not a kind of digreſſion which may appear no way relative to Turkey: be that as it may, the hints which I have thrown out cannot prove entirely uſeleſs, as they will at leaſt ſerve to ſhew the analogy between Weſtern and Oriental negotiation.

In Chriſtendom we have the ſatisfaction of knowing the miniſters we treat with, of tranſacting buſineſs perſonally, and between man and man;

we have an opportunity of acquiring information, and of hearing what can be ſaid with regard to the point in debate; of drawing probable concluſions from our own knowledge of men, and of what paſſes in converſation, and judging in part of what we have to hope or fear.

In Turkey it is quite the reverſe: all foreign miniſters tranſact their buſineſs with the Grand Vizir, through the channel of the *Reis Effendi*, or ſecretary of ſtate; they are, perhaps, admitted to the preſence of the former at one or two ceremonial viſits, according as occaſion offers; and the latter attends at theſe public functions; but they have not an opportunity of converſing with him. Add to this, that there are ſeveral underlings who influence both; they ſcarce know theſe by name, and conſequently cannot tranſact buſineſs with them in perſon. Hence they

are under a neceſſity of truſting other men to tranſmit their thoughts and ſentiments to theſe unknown miniſters; or, which is ſtill worſe, are obliged to have recourſe to writing, and if the Turkiſh miniſtry happen not to like the ſubject, it will never produce an anſwer, but will be bandied about and expoſed to public view for a trifle. Hence ariſes a great perplexity to zealous miniſters, for if they entruſt their ſecret to interpreters, who with large families live upon a ſmall ſalary, and are uſed to Oriental luxury, the temptation of money from others is with difficulty withſtood by them; and even excluſive of any conſiderations of gain, they are often excited by mere vanity to diſcover the ſecret they are entruſted with, in order to ſhew their own importance. If a miniſter, on the other hand, has recourſe to writing, he

is equally in danger of being betrayed the next moment.

It was a common ſaying with an ambaſſador at the Porte, that three great evils were inceſſantly complained of at Conſtantinople, namely, plague, fire, and rebellion; but for his part he had experienced a fourth, which was worſe than any of them, and that was the dragomans, or interpreters: he had, however, leſs reaſon to complain, becauſe thoſe he made uſe of, were his own countrymen. But it muſt be acknowledged, that as Oriental education is eſſential to a dragoman, they with that imbibe all the qualities of the natives themſelves, and are ſcarce diſtinguiſhable from them but by name.

At the time that the four ambaſſadors who reſide at Conſtantinople, ſaw each other only once or twice a year,

upon ſolemn occaſions, the dragomans were more abſolute maſters of buſineſs and of ambaſſadors; every report they made them, and every tale they told them, were ſwallowed with implicit credulity. They could not compare information, they knew not from whence they had it, nor conſequently what ſtreſs they ſhould lay on it.

The dragomans thereupon finding their great power, and becoming ſenſible of their own importance, agreed amongſt themſelves for the news of the day, or made a *Reis Effendi* ſpeak as they thought proper.

I remember to have heard from perſons who had the beſt opportunities of information, that the ambaſſador abovementioned who made uſe of a dragoman of his own nation, had an affair of importance depending at the Porte. He conſtantly preſſed this agent to bring him a categorical an-

ſwer with regard to what he had to expect, on the ſentiments of the Turkiſh miniſters. The dragoman, to all appearance, hurried away to the *Reis Effendi* at the critical moment, but conſtantly returned with ſome evaſive anſwer: the delay increaſed the ambaſſador's impatience; and on repeating orders to his dragoman with ſome warmth, the latter haſtened away, determined, as it were, to compel the *Reis Effendi* to let him know his final determination. The ambaſſador, immediately after his departure, ordered a faithful ſervant to follow him at a diſtance, and obſerve where he ſtopped; he never croſſed the water, but entered a houſe by the way, which was a rendezvous for the dragomans, and where they paſſed the whole day very agreeably at cards and other diverſions. Upon his return to the ambaſſador, he repeated to him many com-

compliments from the *Effendi*, whom he had not ſeen, and told a long ſtory of what the Porte could or could not do in the buſineſs, all which concluded nothing, but he hoped the next time to be more ſatisfactory. The ambaſſador diſſembled, and hoping to have as good ſucceſs in the negotiation as the dragoman had that day at cards, armed himſelf with patience to wait his own time.

The fact is, that when the buſineſs in agitation is diſagreeable to the Porte, the dragomans are very unwilling to be concerned in it; inſurmountable fear gets the better of their reſolution, and they chuſe rather to riſk any effects of the ambaſſador's diſpleaſure, than venture the brutality and indignation of the Turks: in this they are ingenuous, and freely own it.

They know, that if they do not diſguſt the Turkiſh miniſters, they are

ſure of their protection; and that if another is ſent to them, they will not liſten to him, nay, will deſire the ambaſſador, or by dint of delay compel him, to employ the very ſame man he perhaps determined to ſet aſide.

The caſe has been ſince ſomewhat altered by the conſtant intercourſe which miniſters have at preſent with each other; thoſe who are in alliance often compare notes, and the accounts brought them from the Porte: I am inclined to think, notwithſtanding, that they are not yet ſecure againſt the ſame art that was formerly practiſed. The dragomans previouſly concert what they have to ſay, and keep as near as they can to one ſtory. Hence, new miniſters (by new miniſters I mean ſuch as have reſided at Conſtantinople but three or four years) muſt implicitly give credit to what thoſe interpreters tell them; they cannot in ſo ſhort a time

time have ſecured other channels of information.

There are but two methods of uſing theſe interpreters: in ſome affairs, as, for example, thoſe of commerce, the right way is to give them your entire confidence, except where there are demands of money: your intention as to any conceſſion that way is not to be revealed, for you always run a riſk of their paying their court to the Turkiſh miniſters at your expence; and if once they give them hopes of money ever ſo remote, they will look upon it as their due. With regard to any ſums litigated, and to be paid at the Porte to private perſons, on any debt or demand, the miniſters are ſure to come in for a ſhare: promiſes or conceſſions for any reward or payment muſt therefore be made only in the laſt extremity.

In political affairs, which are the moſt difficult of all (for in theſe the miniſters on the other ſide are always ready to have recourſe to bribery and corruption) as little of the buſineſs as poſſible ſhould be entruſted to the dragoman, ſuch a part only on an opening at the Porte, as no ill uſe can be made of. How much may be ſafely communicated, muſt be determined by your own judgment, and by the combination of every circumſtance and ill conſequence which might reſult from a diſcovery, ſhould it come to be known to your enemy. It may be for your advantage to deal at the ſame time with the dragoman of the Porte, ſecuring him with the promiſe of a reward for his trouble, and enjoining him ſuch ſecrecy from your own, as you may think requiſite. This is indeed very hazardous, and yet there is I fear no other reſource for a new miniſter,

ſter. But he who has reſided there many years, has had an opportunity of forming connections, and having been long inured to buſineſs, is by experience and obſervation almoſt able to walk alone, or at leaſt to manage in critical junctures even without the aſſiſtance of his dragoman.

There are, perhaps, in all governments, but more particularly in this, about the perſon of the prime miniſter, or great man in power, ſome creature, minion, favourite, or old friend, or perhaps one of his own ſlaves, who ſtarts up like a fungus after a ſhower of rain, and through whoſe hands the great man's moſt ſecret and important concerns are conveyed. It is to him the moſt agreeable channel, as it is that of confidence; this perſon, tho' inferior both in knowledge of the world, and underſtanding, to his maſter, has ſuch an aſcendant over his mind,

that he can bring him to reliſh any propoſal he thinks proper: the ſecret is ſure to be kept; it is for his intereſt it ſhould, nor will his maſter or himſelf have it known upon any account that he meddles in ſtate affairs, or that any buſineſs is tranſacted but through the common form.

It is a very difficult matter to come at the knowledge of theſe retainers to men in power, theſe temporary ſtateſmen: it is to no purpoſe to have recourſe to the dragomans to make this diſcovery, for if they know them at the Porte, they reſerve them for their own uſe; they take care to keep others from that ſcent, as much as poſſible, and endeavour to make the moſt of their intereſt with this creature of the great man, without ſuffering any body elſe to ſhare it. An ambaſſador at the Porte ſhould therefore make it his particular ſtudy to form a cloſe connexion with

with ſuch men, whoſe intereſt it is immediately to know where this latent intereſt lies, who theſe men are, and the means of acquiring their confidence. The beſt perſons to have recourſe to for this purpoſe, are the agents or reſidents of the princes of Walachia and Moldavia at the Porte. Theſe men are in a particular manner intereſted to know the ebbing and flowing of power; they are the firſt to make ſure of thoſe who are capable of prevailing by their intereſt to have their prince continued in his government; of counteracting and baffling the intrigues of the depoſed princes, and thereby preventing their own ruin. For the government of thoſe two principalities may properly be conſidered as in the hands of thoſe agents; they engage with the Porte, and with private people, for large ſums, which they raiſe for their prince's uſe; and it is chiefly by

their

their intrigues he is made and depoſed. In a word, the reigning prince is but a ſort of a phantom of power, it is the others that govern, and in whom the Vizirs and miniſters of the Seraglio put their confidence in all pecuniary matters; it is therefore incumbent upon them to know thoroughly and betimes, who to apply to for their own preſervation; and in this they are very expert and ſagacious.

From theſe men the *Capi Cheacas*, or agents of the princes of Walachia and Moldavia, and their friends, great and uſeful lights, as I have already obſerved, may be obtained in buſineſs. They can bring you acquainted with a number of old officers at the Porte, who are their penſioners. Such are often conſulted by new Vizirs, and even by thoſe who continue in their office longeſt, and generally have conſiderable connexions with thoſe men

men in power, that never change by any rotation. They are of courſe always of the higheſt uſe to foreign miniſters, being the propereſt perſons to apply to for advice, and moſt capable of furthering buſineſs when attended with difficulties.

During the reign of ſultan Machmut, his Vizirs ſeldom continued three years in power, and many of theſe rather acted as his ſecretaries than as his prime miniſters. The whole government of the empire was managed by himſelf, and the *Kiſlar Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs. Negotiations were then ſo tedious, and encumbered with ſo many difficulties, that an anſwer to a common queſtion, which did not require above an hour, could ſcarce be obtained from the Vizir and the Porte in weeks: hence the Vizir's want of power became obvious, and it was diſcovered that all buſineſs

was

was carried on by meſſage, between the Seraglio and the Porte. The Vizir being thus at laſt become a mere cypher, was, however, jealous of being thought prime miniſter, and ſaw with an eye of reſentment any one who made application to the Seraglio, except through him. Thoſe who have occaſion to ſollicit men in power will, in affairs of conſequence, recur where they are moſt likely to find ſpeedy and immediate aſſiſtance. The government of the Seraglio they conſidered as permanent; the Vizir's power they looked upon as temporary and precarious. Their firſt care was to ſecure protection, and to guard againſt reſentment, before they undertook buſineſs of importance. When they were aſſured that they had nothing to apprehend from the Vizir, they neglected him, and made their application to the Seraglio. There ſtill aroſe a new

a new difficulty for a foreign miniſter. The Vizir and the Porte ſhould naturally be the channels of foreign affairs; were he to ſhew the leaſt neglect of them, or ſeem to doubt of their power, he might find a continual impediment to all buſineſs: he is therefore under the dilemma of forfeiting the Vizir's and other miniſters' favour, or leaving the moſt urgent buſineſs to time and accident. A dragoman who frequents the Porte, would not ſo much as dare to ſhew his face there, were it to be diſcovered that he had applied to the Seraglio. Upon ſuch occaſions recourſe muſt be had to ſome expedient. A foreign miniſter ſhould endeavour to find another dragoman, and diſcover the canals which convey buſineſs to the Grand Seignor, or the *Kiſlar Aga*. He muſt endeavour to acquire their confidence; and if they undertake the buſineſs, he may excuſe himſelf to the Vizir, by

declaring that it is their fault, not his, ſince they ſhould have rejected the propoſal, and referred him to the Porte, to which the conduct of all ſuch affairs properly belongs. The dragoman employed at the Seraglio, who never frequents the Porte, and therefore bears the blame, diſculpates the other, who will be ſure to load him with reproaches, and, perhaps, the ambaſſador; or will even inſiſt that they had by indirect inſinuation from the Seraglio engaged him to apply to them.

I remember buſineſs to have been tranſacted with the utmoſt celerity and diſpatch, at the time it was monopolized by the Seraglio: however, in the end, that, with other acts of deſpotiſm, coſt all the parties concerned in them, except the Grand Seignor, their lives.

The Turks, in all tranſactions of buſineſs, which concern themſelves,

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are violent, impetuous and precipitate; their firſt ſetting out is like a ſudden torrent, driving with ſuch rapidity, as to hurry along with it, or break down every obſtruction. If they have even the moſt diſtant proſpect of gain, or if the object they have in view is of ſuch a nature as to endanger their eaſe or ſecurity ever ſo little, their ardour and vehemence in the purſuit, is incredible: ſo much is the idea of their own ſecurity uppermoſt in their minds, and ſo ſolicitous are they about it, that upon a word's being dropt by a ſuperior, they will require from others not only impracticable abſurdities, but even downright impoſſibilities. I have known them maintain, in the moſt poſitive manner, that a meſſenger could go from London to Peterſbourg, Vienna, and Conſtantinople in one and twenty days; and when the diſtance was fairly explained to them,

they were ſo blinded by the vehemence of paſſion, that they would not acknowledge their error; but perſiſted to affirm, in the moſt poſitive manner, and with all the heat of obſtinacy, that one of their own Tartars would perform it in that time.

Upon ſuch occaſions as this, when the mind is not to be worked upon by facts and conviction, and all expedients prove ineffectual, the foreign miniſter has no other reſource but to arm himſelf with patience, to endeavour to be as coolly firm as they are hot and paſſionate, to collect all his fortitude, and determine to bear the very worſt effects of rage and diſappointment. The Turks are perſuaded that all events are in his diſpoſal; but whatever his inſtructions may be, or however things may fall out, he muſt by all means avoid the moſt trifling and remote conceſſion. He will

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be ſure to hear many threats and menaces even from his own dragoman, as alſo inſinuations of perſonal danger; let him then conſider himſelf as Socrates in Plato, happy in adhering to duty and virtue, and carry with him in his own mind that conſcious ſatisfaction, that it will not fail to prove its own reward.

Such perplexing and difficult conjunctures occur but ſeldom, eſpecially in political affairs: in commercial, there are means to ſtem the torrent of their wrath by the ſoothing palliative of a golden unction; this never fails of ſucceſs.

Let commercial treaties with them be ever ſo clear and explicit, they will ſtill wrangle, diſpute, and wreſt them to their own meaning, which they will maintain to be a neceſſary explanation; when ſuch treaties and capitulations have been at different times

renewed, and ſubſequent advantages granted, it is then they will cavil, confound, and diſtinguiſh; they will never agree that the laſt more favourable article deſtroys the preceding, but inſiſt that it is at their option to chuſe either; nay, they will commence away with red ink on the ſide of black, till they reduce facts to a ſort of metaphyſical jargon.

After a tedious negotiation for ſeveral months, you muſt have recourſe to the golden means: the chief man concerned in the negotiation, convinced of the equity of the demand, or the juſtice of the defence in caſe of an attack, muſt have an additional motive to ſecond it with the Vizir. He will content himſelf with the promiſe, perplex the cauſe, do all he can to involve it in darkneſs and confuſion, and ſet aſide the moſt cogent and concluſive arguments that have

been alledged to ſupport it: or more probably, in order to ſhew his parts, he will, after having confuted them in the preſence of the chief miniſters, ſupply you with ſome trifling reaſons of his own, which an intelligent mind would be almoſt aſhamed and afraid to urge, but which the other knows, are of weight ſufficient to meet with the Vizir's approbation, or even with that of the Seraglio, if the matter has been referred thither, as it generally happens. And, perhaps theſe reaſons, ſuch as they are, have often been alledged during the courſe of the debate, by thoſe on whoſe final determination the affair depended, inſomuch that the very uſe made of them by the foreign miniſter, enables his friend to ſupport and carry his cauſe.

The capitulations which the commercial powers of Chriſtendom have made with the Porte are mere conceſ-

ſions; there is not, as we have already obſerved, nay, there cannot be the leaſt reciprocation: the only way to ſupport them is by prudence, and a circumſpect behaviour; and a conſtant annual expence of preſents of various ſorts becomes neceſſary of courſe. A miniſter muſt urge theſe capitulations as ſeldom as poſſible, never commence any litigation on their foundation, except in the laſt extremity, and ſuffer an inconſiderable ill to paſs unregarded, rather than lay it before the ſuperior tribunal. It is to no purpoſe to make a buſtle and a diſturbance, when you have it not in your power to hurt; and though it may by ſome be thought adviſeable, and may be ſo in fact in moſt political, and reciprocal engagements, not to ſuffer the moſt inconſiderable part of them to be violated or infringed; in ſuch caſes as theſe, where there is no proſpect of a

ſupport,

ſupport, where the Turks know threats and menacing language to be empty wind, and airy bubbles,—where mercantile men may be hurt, and they can hope for no redreſs; the miniſter has no weapons to defend him but moderation and prudence; and all his ſagacity can ſuggeſt to him no wiſer conduct, than to chuſe the leaſt of two evils.

All negotiations with the Turks muſt neceſſarily be carried on in writing. The Vizir never grants an audience, without being previouſly informed of the general purport of the memorial. This method of treating in writing is dangerous; for, if they ſend you papers in their own tongue, as I have already obſerved in a former chapter, they take care to make uſe of ſuch expreſſions, as they may afterwards interpret in a ſenſe of their own; ſynonimous terms abound in their language, and the conſtruction of moſt

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of them is precarious. A deep knowledge of the roots of the Arabian and Perſian tongues, is requiſite to render a perſon perfectly maſter of theirs; very few of the interpreters employed in the ſervice of the Chriſtian powers, are ſufficiently verſed in theſe languages: in affairs of importance it is therefore found neceſſary to have the original Turkiſh paper accompanied with an Italian tranſlation of their own, however barbarous it may be, though they can write that language tolerably well; the ſenſe will thus be aſcertained, and if the miniſter underſtands the Italian, which he ſhould by no means be ignorant of, he knows on what ground he ſtands; otherwiſe time may diſcover ſome capital errors in the ſubſtance of his negotiation. It is ſurpriſing to ſee how expert the Turks are at taking this critical advantage: I have known them diſpute whole weeks

about

about the wording of political treaties, and a ſingle term has often given riſe to the debate.

At the concluſion of their laſt war, upon their entering into a definitive treaty with one of the belligerant powers, the eſſential part of an important article turned upon the meaning of a word. No Chriſtian interpreter could be found to cut the gordian knot of this difficulty, or explain the true meaning of the term: hereupon a perſon deeply verſed in the Arabian and Perſian languages, whoſe capacity and ability were well known by the Porte, was conſulted; he declared the word to ſignify the very reverſe of what that court intended, and that it defeated the Porte's engagements, whilſt it bound the other power: he was amply rewarded by the miniſter, and had a penſion ſettled upon him. The debate ſubſiſted a long time with the Turkiſh

Turkiſh miniſters, but was never the nearer being terminated, they perſiſted in retaining that doubtful word. At laſt a conference was deſired between the ſecretary of the embaſſy, and the *Reis Effendi*, or ſecretary of ſtate: the faithful occaſional interpreter of the former was to attend him, and he was to ſupport the true meaning of the word; the miniſters of the Porte knew the man and his acknowledged abilities. The moment he made his appearance, the *Reis Effendi* began with welcoming him, complimented him upon his conſummate knowledge of their language, and upon his being able to determine the doubt, in the ſame breath artfully putting the queſtion, whether ſuch a word had not ſuch a meaning? which was his own: the other anſwered yes, without heſitation. The Turk then turned with an air of triumph to the ſecretary, exulting in his

his being in the right: rage and diſappointment obliged the latter, after ſome high words, to withdraw, reproaching the interpreter with treachery, and giving him all the opprobrious language that indignation could ſuggeſt; to which the other anſwered with compoſure, I would rather bear all you can ſay or do, than be hung up at the Porte, or at my own door for contradicting the *Reis Effendi*.

The ambaſſador notwithſtanding, by dint of inflexible ſtadineſs, accompanied by threats, which he knew he could make good, brought the pen to to bend to his own meaning; a hundred thouſand men ready to take the field, blunted the edge of obſtinate criticiſm, and humbled the pride of the Mahometan ſcholaſtic, who thought to glory in his artful deceit.

One of the chief occupations of a foreign ambaſſador from the commer-

cial powers at the Porte, is the external buſineſs of the diſtant factories, to obtain a redreſs of grievances, to recover money due to them, and to ſupport the capitulations. Memorials are always preſented to the Vizir, to obtain theſe points; the firman in conſequence is granted him for the Baſhaw, or the commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, or ſome other proper officer; which firman is called a command: but as the command is founded on the memorial preſented by the ambaſſador, he muſt be exceeding cautious and circumſpect in the wording of it, and give his utmoſt attention to the energy and force of expreſſion, laying the chief ſtreſs on what he knows may and can be done to the purpoſe, with regard to perſons, matter, and manner. Sometimes indeed he muſt conſult the capitulations to find out their true ſenſe, and adapt them to the point in diſpute,

diſpute, or demand to be made; and often help a ſcribe at the Porte to find the conſtruction moſt likely to ſucceed, or which may be moſt eaſily admitted by the ſecretary of ſtate; and, if worth while, it is beſt to ſupport it by a reward.

The ambaſſador's interpreter, or dragoman, muſt alſo have a careful eye over the clerk of the Porte, who makes out the command; he muſt watch every word he inſerts, and even chuſe ſuch words as are the moſt expreſſive and energetick, which the ambaſſador himſelf did not preſume to preſs with too much earneſtneſs in his memorial. After having taken all theſe pains, no man is ſure that the command will be fully executed; it is often accompanied with private marks, which ſignify, "do as you will; or, let it lie by," or they inform the Baſhaw's Capucheaia, or agent at the Porte, that ſuch a command is iſſued, and may be

be treated as the Baſhaw thinks proper. And if it happens to fall into the hands of a Baſhaw, who has been himſelf Vizir, and is conſequently experienced in the various turns of government, he ſeldom pays any regard to the orders of the Porte, but as he himſelf happens to be diſpoſed; nor will he aſſiſt or execute, without being gained beforehand by the golden motive, which with the Turks is all-prevailing.

An extraordinary caſe happened of a vice-conſul of one of the European nations, who was obliged to quit his habitation and effects, by the tyranny and oppreſſion of an Eaſtern rebel: this man, originally a camel-driver, kept poſſeſſion of a conſiderable government, in ſpight of the Porte, always profeſſing ſubmiſſion; but the Porte did not deign to ſend direct orders not to acknowledge him.

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When therefore commands for a redreſs of injuries, in this caſe, were applied for at the Porte, they were directed to be executed by Baſhaws in the neighbourhood of the rebel; theſe as conſtantly repreſented, that as he was poſſeſſed of power, they could not pretend to execute the commands without a ſuperior force. At laſt, upon reiterated ſolicitations at the Porte, commands and letters from the Vizir were granted to the ambaſſador, for a neighbouring Baſhaw to raiſe what number of men he ſhould think proper, to call the other Baſhaws to his aſſiſtance, to take the moſt effectual meaſures for ſubduing that rebel, and ſee that the vice-conſul had ample ſatisfaction and reſtitution made him.

The vice-conſul, armed with theſe thunderbolts, thought the moment of redreſs and aſſiſtance was at hand; he therefore with the utmoſt confidence

preſented them to the Baſhaw, adding, that a chief in the mountains had, of his own accord, offered to aſſiſt him with a force ſuperior to that of the enemy.

The Baſhaw, who had been ſome years Vizir, received the commands and letters with ſeeming ſatisfaction, read them with great attention, and reflected profoundly, as if he was conſidering how to carry them into execution; but, however, referred them to farther and more mature deliberation.

The vice-conſul returning home quite elate with hope, was at laſt ſent for by the Baſhaw; when he came into his preſence, the latter told him, that he knew how he deteſted the villain, and, as he called him, infidel; that he was ready to execute to the utmoſt rigour the purport of the command, and that the powers were very full and ample; but he deſired to know who

would give him ſecurity, that when he had ſubdued and deſtroyed him, the Grand Seignor, or the Porte, would not demand from him (the Baſhaw) an enormous ſum for the booty he had obtained from this rebel, when perhaps he had not taken a ſingle farthing? "My good friend, added "he, till I have that effectual ſecu- "rity, I will not ſtir out of this place, "nor ſuffer ſo much as a ſingle man "to move."

In this manner all his efforts became ineffectual, till the uſurping governor, of himſelf, recalled the vice-conſul to the place of his reſidence, and reinſtated him in the poſſeſſion of his effects.

In political affairs every occurrence is attended with difficulty; they will always prefer the ſide of inaction where they run no riſk, to the ſide of action where they expoſe themſelves

any danger. A caſe happened in the late war of 1745, which, from the evidence it comes upon, I am perſuaded is true. A * Vizir then in office, a man of good underſtanding, and acknowledged to be the beſt officer in the empire, was tempted and at laſt perſuaded to accept a very conſiderable ſum of money, to put the Tartars in motion againſt one of the powers in the alliance. The conditions agreed upon were, that he ſhould grant a command to the Khan of the Tartars for that purpoſe: he gave the command according to his promiſe; but before it could be executed, he ſent orders that it ſhould be looked upon as matter of mere complaiſance, and not obeyed: at the ſame time he was not under apprehenſions, that it might come to the knowledge of the

* Ali Baſhaw.

miniſters

miniſters reſident at the Porte from thoſe powers againſt whom it was intended; for he took care to acquaint them underhand, that in caſe they heard any ſuch report, they had no occaſion to be alarmed, ſince he aſſured them there was nothing in it, and they might take his word.

Ambaſſadors and miniſters ſhould remember, that they are received only conditionally at the Porte, as gueſts to the Grand Seignor: it is inceſſantly repeated to them, that as long as the king their maſter continues a friend to the Grand Seignor, ſo long ſhall the treaties and conceſſions be obſerved, and no longer; when they conceive the leaſt ſuſpicion that this friendſhip is violated, their hoſpitality to the miniſter ceaſes. The law of nations is unknown to the Turks, and conſequently diſregarded by them; as far therefore as the treaties or capitula-

tions extend in their favour, and cuſtom or preſcription has authoriſed any particular regard to them, they may plead it.

When the Turks have formed a reſolution to declare war againſt any power, they diſcover their reſentment immediately by their treatment of its miniſter; they imagine that by inſulting his perſon, they affront the crowned head who has offended them, and conſider him as a hoſtage in their hands, whom they muſt ſecure. Their conſtant practice has been to impriſon ſuch in the Seven Towers. Sultan Machmut in the laſt war is the only inſtance of a Grand Seignor, who has deviated from that general practice; the Ruſſian miniſter marched with the army, and received the moſt honourable treatment; but, as Sultan Machmut was a prince of uncommon humanity, we can conclude nothing from

from his behaviour with regard to the conduct of other emperors. Foreign miniſters ſhould therefore expect quite a different treatment upon ſuch occaſions, and when they are in their hands, reckon upon ſuffering all the ill uſage that paſſion and reſentment can ſuggeſt.

The Turks are exaſperated or calm, and their treatment of the miniſter is more or leſs ſevere, according to the behaviour of his court, or as the events of war turn out to their advantage. Their treatment of him is bad at the beſt, and if the war laſts ſeven years, he muſt ſubmit to his fate, and bear the horrors of a rigorous impriſonment. As miniſters at every court avail themſelves of the favourable moment to raiſe their maſter's and their own perſonal value, ſuch a circumſtance as that of a war is what a neutral ambaſſador ſhould ſeize. The

method of proceeding among the Turks is always to conclude a peace by means of a mediation; a mediator they muſt have, and will moſt probably ſhew the moſt favour to that miniſter, on whom they think they can moſt depend. If it ſhould be their fate to be unſucceſsful, it will not be in their option to chuſe; they then will conſtantly keep their eye on him, whom they know to have the moſt credit by friendſhip, alliance, or otherwiſe with their enemy. A miniſter ſo circumſtanced may therefore aſſume ſomething more, and aſk favours which he could not flatter himſelf with hopes of obtaining at another time: at ſuch a juncture the Turks will not fail to cultivate his friendſhip, and be cautious how they refuſe him any thing he applies for.

I have often thought that care in nipping the paſſions in their bud, during

during the courſe of education, might fix mankind in a ſtoical apathy; other nations, as well as the Turks, would find it greatly to their advantage to attend to this. Whether it be owing to the neglect of bridling their paſſions in early life, or from another cauſe, (I mean the hatred and contempt they bear to all people in the univerſe who are not of their own perſuaſion,) whenever the Turks happen to have conteſts and diſputes with any of the neighbouring powers, and treat with their miniſters directly; if the negotiator is not very calm and diſpaſſionate, the vehemence of the Turks hurries them beyond all bounds, impatience and pride gets the better of their underſtanding, every word is miſconſtrued, miſunderſtood, and offenſive, exaggerated reports are made to the ſovereign, and from words they proceed to ſome act of violence, and

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even to blows. Their interviews with foreign miniſters on ſuch occaſions, have been generally attended with ſuch quarrels and altercations.

The Ruſſians, after the treaty of Pruth, were continually uneaſy at the advantages the Turks had obtained over them; certain it is, that from that time the Turks rather deſpiſed, than feared them; and whatever turn a modern French author *, who often repreſents things according to his own partial views and prepoſſeſſions, may have given to the affair, the real cauſe of the war which preceded the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, was that the Ruſſians wanted to retrieve their military reputation, to re-eſtabliſh the honour of their arms, and impreſs the Turks with awe and reſpect. They ſucceeded in their purpoſe; for during the whole reign of Sultan Machmut, not only the Ruſſian arms but their

* Hiſtory of the negotiation of the treaty of Belgrade.

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very name was dreaded by the Turks, and the court of Peterſbourg acted as if it had a right to command: fortreſſes were built with impunity on the Ruſſian frontiers, and a conſiderable one at a ſmall diſtance from the Turkiſh territory: the Turks who looked upon this proceeding as a violation of the treaty, made very friendly and gentle remonſtrances to the Ruſſians during that reign. Upon Sultan Oſman's acceſſion to the throne, the Vizir endeavoured to keep his place by changing the pacific plan of his predeceſſor; *it is no longer Sultan Machmut's reign*, was then the language. He artfully began with the abovementioned fortreſs, and made preſſing application to the Ruſſian reſident, repreſenting the unfair procedure of his court, and at laſt expoſtulating with him on the footing of the treaty of Paſſarowitz, and the laſt that had been made * with the

* At Belgrade.

emperor:

emperor; he exclaimed againſt the building of fortreſſes as a violation of the treaty ſubſiſting between the two powers: debates thereupon running high between theſe miniſters, ſhort and unſatisfactory anſwers from the reſident cauſed great uneaſineſs in the Seraglio and at the Porte. A neutral miniſter, whoſe maſter's intereſt in Chriſtendom was then cloſely connected with that of the court of Ruſſia, and who was ſenſible that it was of the higheſt importance to their intereſts to prevent a rupture between the two courts, ſaw the obvious ill conſequences that muſt ariſe from perſonal diſcuſſions, and perceived that the uneaſineſs of the Porte daily increaſed. He therefore reſolved to improve the hints they ſuggeſted to him, and to draw the negotiation from the parties immediately concerned into intermediate hands. He privately inſinuated his apprehenſions, that

that they were precipitating themſelves into hoſtile meaſures about what perhaps had no real exiſtence; or if it had, was of little or no importance in itſelf; that ſhould they appear to be the aggreſſors, they might involve another court, of whoſe pacific intentions they had daily proofs, in the hard neceſſity of fulfilling their engagements with that of Ruſſia—that therefore application ſhould be made to the miniſter of that court, the facts fairly ſtated to him, his ſentiments known, ſome time allowed to find means of ſatisfying the delicacy of the Porte, and above all that the Ruſſian reſident ſhould be left to his own reflections. Thus the affair remained in ſuſpence for ſome days, till a new paroxyſm of uneaſineſs ſeized the Porte: the Turkiſh miniſtry then produced a paper, containing a ſtate of the caſe between the two courts, which they ſent to the mi-

niſter who had inſinuated the means, and another to the miniſter to whom he intended the application ſhould be made, deſiring their opinion with regard to the juſtice of their cauſe.

CHAP. XIV.

Miſcellaneous obſervations on the manners of the Turks.

IT may be a queſtion, whether men, before they aſſembled together into cities, or formed ſocieties within the encloſure of towns, were not more pure and undefiled in their manners, and endowed with greater rectitude of morals. We have reaſon to think they were, from the hiſtory of mankind; and our own obſervations will generally confirm us in this opinion.

The more mankind are together, the more their wants increaſe, the more their

their paſſions are raiſed; and they ſeek every means to ſupply the one, and ſatisfy the other.

Hence, I once concluded, aroſe the difference between the city and the ruſtic Turk: the former, artful and deſigning; the latter, open and ſimple, though equally with the other affecting an air of contempt and backwardneſs in their ſervices towards Chriſtians; the reſult, I ſuppoſe, of education and religion.

From this appearance I was tempted to enquire as diligently as I could, whether the Turks, living in ſeparate hamlets, unconnected and unmixed with Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, were more virtuous and honeſt than thoſe in cities and villages, where all theſe religions are profeſſed, and the different ſects herding indiſcriminately together, make, as it were, but one people. I put the queſtion to ſeveral, without

without obtaining a ſatisfactory anſwer: at length the ſame *Effendi*, with whom I converſed concerning the *Koran*, who was a native of Boſnia, had lived long in his own country, and who ſeemed always to think freely in matters of religion, anſwered me, that they ſcarce knew in a mere Turkiſh village, what trick, deceit, or roguery were amongſt each other; that having obſerved and compared the difference between them, and the villages in which Turks and Greeks were mixed, he found, by undoubted obſervation, that the latter tainted the whole community; that they taught the Turks to deceive, to embroil their own families, ſeduced them into proceſſes and law-ſuits, inſpired the *Cadi* of the diſtrict with the luſt of gain, and, that they might have his protection, became his inſtruments in the iniquitous means of acquiring it.

He

He added, that nothing could furniſh better examples, or more illuſtrate the ſubject, than the manners of the Turcomans, bands of whom are itinerant through Aſia, like the ancient patriarchs, and amongſt whom fraud and deceit are almoſt unknown; if yet they happen to mix with the Armenians or Jews in villages or towns, they become as conſummately artful as any of them; but then they ſeldom dare return to their own community.

But how plauſible ſoever this may ſeem, I ſhould think, on farther reflexion and better acquaintance with Turkiſh manners, juſter cauſes may be aſſigned for their depravity; becauſe where men are expoſed by a corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice, or otherwiſe, to oppreſſion, ſelf-defence and neceſſity will teach them cunning and deceit, without other inſtructors.

He muſt indeed be the righteous *Cadi* of Smyrna, who will not ſollicit bribes, nor foment litigation, and excite law-ſuits, ſince by theſe means he acquires wealth almoſt without a riſk; and he muſt be a moſt upright Baſhaw, who, in traverſing a country, will not plunder for himſelf in every town and village through which he paſſes, under pretence of taking his due; or who will hinder his retinue and dependants from plundering in like manner. As therefore the people cannot prevent the one or the other by force, they will naturally exert their whole faculties to eſcape oppreſſion; but lies, hypocriſy, and evaſion, are their only inſtruments of defence. Habituated to this, from one ſtep they eaſily take the other, and extend it through all their dealings: thus the tyranny and the example of their ſuperiors

periors muſt be allowed to contribute greatly to the degeneracy of their manners.

The changes of Baſhaws from one government to the other, ſometimes from the confines of Perſia to thoſe of Europe, is one of the great grievances, and, indeed, almoſt the greateſt the ſubjects ſuffer under what may properly be called miniſtry, or government in Turkey. For although a Baſhaw on this occaſion is limited to an allowance, which the country furniſhes from each diſtrict, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame indemnification, as it defrays the journey of an ambaſſador; and the orders of the Sultan ſtrictly prohibit any farther exactions; yet if he effectually finds a venal protection at the Porte, or that the interior of the Seraglio has the power, and is ſufficiently corrupt to ſhare in his extortions, he gives little

attention to the ſovereign's orders, or his ſtipulated *Thaym* or allowance; but regardleſs whether they are Turks, Chriſtians, or Jews, who are the prey of his rapacity, he drains the very vitals of the country, from the beginning of his journey to the end, and plunders without remiſſion or remorſe.

During the power of Bechir, the Black *Kiſlar-Aga*, who was executed in ſultan Machmut's reign, a period of ſix years, this evil became enormous; every Baſhaw ſtrove to be his creature, and continually gave him, or his dependants, large ſums for their ſupport and protection. Commit what outrage he pleaſed, it was in vain for the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts through which he paſſed to exclaim againſt him, to come in bands with *Arz Mahzars*, or general repreſentations of their grievances to the Grand Seignor.

If

If they delivered their complaint to the Porte, the Vizir dared not lay it before the Sultan, dreading exile, or worſe: if preſented to the Sultan in his way to the moſchee, it was either received from the complainants by the Black *Kiſlar-Aga*, or immediately put into his hands and ſuppreſſed. The proceeding of the miniſtry on theſe occaſions was to tire out the complainants with delays, and then exhort them to return home, and truſt to the Vizir for ſatisfaction and redreſs.

After the execution of this Black, the Grand Seignor ſent out the thunder of his commands, with threats of diſgrace and puniſhment againſt all Baſhaws guilty of rapine, prohibiting it for the future, enjoining them at the ſame time to give no preſents to his miniſters; for that, he found, was

the pretence under which their rapine was exerciſed.

The evil ceaſed for a time indeed continues in one ſtate, but ebbs and flows, and ſhifts, according to the variation of power in men about the Sultan, who may ſometimes oblige it to intermit, like the paroxyſms of a fever; but his politico-medical abilities are not ſufficient to put an effectual ſtop to the return.

Notwithſtanding the general abuſe of power, the venality, and other defects which may be found in the Turkiſh government, their interior policy, or proviſion for the ſecurity of individuals, is excellent, and worthy of imitation.

Highway robberies, houſe-breaking, even pilfering, are almoſt unknown amongſt them; be it in time of peace or of war, the roads are as ſecure as their

their houſes; the whole empire, eſpecially through the high roads, may be always traverſed with the utmoſt ſafety; and, conſidering the continual concourſe of paſſengers, it is wonderful how very few tragical accidents happen; not one, perhaps, in ſeveral years.

This ſecurity poſſibly may be founded on the ſame principle on which our diviſions of hundreds and tythings were firſt inſtituted.

For, in like manner, the whole Turkiſh empire is divided into different diſtricts of country, which are anſwerable for every robbery or murder committed within its limits; they are therefore vigilant to prevent either, as they ſoon feel the weight of a ſevere and ſummary juſtice. For on the leaſt pretence, a great officer of the Porte is immediately diſpatched to take their examination; the diſtricts pay

the expence of this inqueſt, whether they exculpate themſelves or not; nor does he depart, until he ſtrips them of almoſt their laſt farthing.

The meaner Turks, however, muſt have ſome motive ſuperior to that of fear to reſtrain them; for the country is ſo extenſive, and the roads are ſo open, from one extremity of the empire to the other, that they might rob and murder with impunity, and eſcape to ſome diſtant province, notwithſtanding every human precaution to prevent it.

I have known a Franc, in his own country dreſs, who travelled alone round the camp of a Turkiſh army aſſembling for the Perſian war, and paſſed thro' it without being aſked a queſtion, or receiving the leaſt interruption in his journey.

Whether the Turks look on ſtealing with diſdain, as a baſeneſs unworthy of

of human nature; or whether they do indeed fear the laws, which, however, are not very ſevere; houſe-breaking, or pilfering, by Turks, ſcarce ever happens in Conſtantinople.

In that city the Bulgarians are moſt to be apprehended; they are generally the thieves; yet you may live there with ſecurity, and your doors remain almoſt continually open.

The Greeks ſeldom rob any thing conſiderable; but their fingers are as nimble as their genius is ſprightly: they will pilfer. Every little, they ſay, accumulates until it becomes a heap; and that little is ſcarce miſſed, or, if miſſed, is not an object worth enquiring after. In general, however, many of the Iſland-Greeks are ſober and honeſt, except with their tongues; for they will ſay and unſay, invent and tergiverſate, with a marvellous promptneſs and fluency.

Birth

Birth does not recommend to great offices in Turkey; merit and abilities may exalt the cottager to the higheſt office of the empire.

The Turks do not think that blood can convey either the ſame faculties of the mind, or the ſame moral qualities from the anceſtor to the ſucceſſor; but they believe that virtue, wiſdom, courage, riches, in ſhort, every diſtribution of gifts and talents, and all the different ranks and orders of men, are decreed and allotted by the Supreme Being to the different individuals of ſociety, without any regard to particular families: ſo that even the deſcendants of their prophet, who are very numerous, remain generally in the loweſt and moſt abject ſtate, enjoying only ſome trifling privileges, which can never influence their fortune.

I obſerved, however, that ſome families are reſpected by the people, merely

merely for the merit of their anceſtors. One, indeed, the deſcendant of Ibrahim Kan, is particularly diſtinguiſhed by all ranks; and ſome pretend, that he is viſited twice a year by the Sultan himſelf.

Ibrahim was Vizir to Mahomet II. That Sultan, when he had ſubdued Walachia, left Adrianople, and paſſed over into Aſia to chaſtiſe ſeveral princes who had revolted againſt him. He was ſtopped in his return from that expedition by an impoſtor, who pretended to be Muſtapha, the ſon of Bajazet, loſt or killed in the battle againſt Tamerlane. This impoſtor was beſieging the city of Nicea in Bythinia, where Mahomet attacked and routed him; but, ſoon after, was taken ill of a dyſentery, and died. His ſon Amurath was then in Europe warring againſt the Bulgarians. In this critical ſituation, the Vizir Ibrahim conveyed

veyed advice to Amurath of his father's death, but concealed it forty one days from the knowledge of the army: public buſineſs went on as if he was alive, till Amurath arrived.

For this important ſervice, Ibrahim had the title of *Kan*, almoſt equivalent to that of king, conferred on him, with many honours and large emoluments; all which were confirmed to him and his deſcendants by Soly-man Canauni, or the Lawgiver, commonly called the Magnificent. This family bears the name of Ibrahim Kan Oglu: they have built and endowed an incredible number of religious houſes, and public *Khans* for the reception of travellers, of which they are perpetual inſpectors and directors. They are, in like manner as the Sultan himſelf, exempt from mixing blood by marriage with any other family, and only have concubines. They can refuſe

refuſe to accept any office in the adminiſtration; and I have been told, that they have the only hereditary title in the empire, that of Great Huntſman, or Great Falconer.

Amongſt the deſcendants of Vizirs, the Kiuporli family, of whom there are few remaining; and in the law, that of Damas-Zade, whoſe anceſtor was the firſt *Mufti* after the taking of Conſtantinople; are both infinitely reſpected by the people.

In general, I think to have obſerved, that the people pay regard to the deſcendants of *Baſhaws*, or of conſiderable *Effendis*: perhaps the attention ſhewn them, may be in proportion to their wealth and connections, or their public donations.

But what is certain, and ſeems an eſſential mark of diſtinction, is, that any man in the empire who marries a lady deſcended from a *Baſhaw*, or an eminent

eminent perſon in the law, or, indeed, of any other profeſſion, muſt content himſelf without any other wife; nor does he dare have a concubine in the ſame houſe. I have ſeen it carried farther by a Vizir who was thus married; for though he had his concubines out of the houſe, he was obliged to conceal it very carefully from his lady.

The Turks are ſtrong in their parental affections, and the children reciprocal in their obedience, ſubmiſſion, and filial duty: ſuch education leads them to much ſeeming modeſty with their ſuperiors, and the young men to great veneration towards the old. Perhaps this, with their total, and very early ſeparation from women, has infuſed that remarkable baſhfulneſs in their behaviour towards them, and occaſions that reſpect with which they treat the ſex.

A man,

A man, meeting a woman in the ſtreets, turns his head from her, as if it were forbidden to look on her: they ſeem to deteſt an impudent woman, to ſhun and avoid her.

Any one, therefore, among the Chriſtians, who may have diſcuſſions or altercations with Turks, if he has a woman of ſpirit, or a virago for his wife, ſets her to revile and brow-beat them; and by this means not unfrequently gains his point.

The higheſt diſgrace and ſhame would attend a Turk who ſhould raſhly lift his hand againſt a woman; all he can venture to do, is to treat her with harſh and contemptuous words, or to march off.

The ſex lay ſuch ſtreſs on this privilege, that they are frequently apt to indulge their paſſion to exceſs, to be moſt unreaſonable in their claims, and violent and irregular in the purſuit

of them. They will importune, teaze, and inſult a judge on the bench; or even the Vizir at his divan: the officers of juſtice do not know how to reſent their turbulence: and it is a general obſervation, that to get rid of them, they often let them gain their cauſe.

A remarkable ſcene was acted by the women at the acceſſion of ſultan Muſtapha.

His Vizir, Ragib Mehemet Baſhaw, who, towards the end of the preceding reign, had found himſelf unſettled in his poſt, and expected daily by the intrigues of the Seraglio to be depoſed, neglected to provide the neceſſary ſupply of corn and rice for the yearly conſumption of the city, tho' an eſſential part of his duty. The public granaries were almoſt empty, and leſs rice than uſual had been imported: however, contrary to his expectation,

pectation, he found himſelf inveſted with full power by the new Sultan, and rendered abſolute; but then it was too late in the ſeaſon for him to introduce plenty. Bread mixed up with oats, barley, millet, and ſand, was dear and ſcarce; and rice hardly to be bought at any price.

In this diſtreſs, the men bore their want with paſſive and ſullen diſcontent; but the women, impatient and daring, aſſembled in a conſiderable body, and with hammers, chiſſels, and files, attacked the magazines, where, as they pretended, rice was monopolized in great quantities. No oppoſition could ſtop them; and whilſt the public officers were perplexed what courſe to take, they broke open locks, bars, and bolts, burſt into the magazines, took with them ſuch quantities as they could carry off, and went away unmoleſted.

None of theſe female rioters were ever puniſhed, as far as we knew; and if you ſpoke to a grave Turk about them, he would tell you with a ſneer, it was only a mutiny of turbulent women.

I have heard it averred by a perſon of great veracity, who had lived for ſome years in a Sultan's *Harem* of the blood-royal, that it was impoſſible for women to behave with more decency and modeſty than the Turkiſh ladies did, and that they treated each other with the greateſt politeneſs.

In families of the higher claſs, where education is more exalted, where reading their own language, or the Arabian, is carefully cultivated; precepts of virtue and morality, of gentle demeanor and good breeding, of chaſtity of manners, with whatever decorates the ſex, and renders it amiable, are likely to be inculcated.

But,

But, in general, it is known that the women who are ſold or preſented to their great men, either for wives or concubines, have their price and value regulated not only according to the beauty or form of the perſon, but according to thoſe acquired graces, and artificial allurements, which they have induſtriouſly been taught: theſe are always ſuch as may conduce to raiſe and inflame the paſſions. Hence they teach them vocal and inſtrumental muſic; certain peculiar affectations in their gait; and often ſuch dances as to a modeſt ſpectator would appear rather indecent.

Facts, by which we can be thoroughly aſſured of the female characteriſtic in Turkey, are difficult to come at; accident may throw them in our way: one fell in mine, which, if it did not ſeem to ſuggeſt too uncharitable and ungenerous a way of think-

ing, might lead us to judge rather unfavourably of the whole ſex in that part of the world: *Crimine ab uno diſce omnes.*

The *Harems* of great men, that is, all the ladies, and their attendants, are in the ſummer ſeaſon frequently permitted to take an airing on foot, either in the fields on the borders of the Boſphorus, or other ſuch public places: theſe parties generally conſiſt of twenty or thirty, and ſometimes of forty or fifty women, according to the opulence of the maſter; and they are always attended by the guardians of their chaſtity, the Black Eunuchs.

It is common with the Francs or Chriſtian foreigners to paſs over to the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus for an evening's recreation. Two of them went thither as uſual with ladies, attended by Janizaries and ſervants. As they were returning ſlowly, they heard a con-

a confuſed noiſe of female voices behind them. Their curioſity prompted them to ſee, as well as hear: they turned ſhort, and ſtopped. They found theſe voices proceeded from two *Harems*, compoſed of near forty women: their faithful watchmen the Blacks attended on each ſide, guarding them, though at ſome diſtance. One of the ſpectators ſtood longer, and with more earneſtneſs to contemplate their figure and behaviour. He thought they would rather avoid than approach him. He was miſtaken: for on a ſudden, he found himſelf ſeized by a ſeeming dapper briſk girl, followed by the whole band; who firſt accoſting him with indelicate amorous expletives, and after with ſoothing and tender expreſſions, attempted to unravel the myſtery of his whole dreſs.

The force of the conflict, and the army of females about him, left him

but the ſingle reſource of laughter and ſtruggling: he could not diſengage himſelf from ſuch numerous, determined aſſailants by threats nor intreaties; nor vanquiſh the vehemence of their curioſity, by repreſenting the ſhame to which they expoſed themſelves, in conſequence of a behaviour ſo groſly and ſo publickly indecent.

An old Janiſſary attending him, ſtood at ſome diſtance, as it were in amaze. His Mahometan baſhfulneſs would not permit him to advance towards women; nor would he have dared to lay his hands on them: all he ventured at in the fray, was to work up a ſtern countenance towards the Black Eunuchs, and with a Stentorian voice to exclaim againſt them and their wards, telling them they were the guardians of proſtitutes, rather than of modeſt women; and urging them to exert themſelves to free the man

from ſuch importunate violators.——— All in vain.

A young man of the company, a foreigner, either envying the other, or prompted by compaſſion at ſeeing his untoward ſituation, boldly advanced; and as he ſpoke the Turkiſh language better than the perſon engaged, began to expoſtulate with them, ſometimes with a ſmile, and ſometimes with a frown. Whether his countenance, his form, or his greater youth, were more attractive, they at once quitted hold of their firſt prey, flew on him with eager and inquiſitive hands, and whilſt he underwent the ſame treatment, gave the other time to reach his boat. The youth, robuſt and active, diſengaged himſelf after much ſtruggling, and at length with difficulty ſaved himſelf by flight; happy not to have been quite ſtripped, and to have been able to join the company with decent covering.

I muſt add, as the general opinion, and what I have always heard, that the Turkiſh ladies in general are rather immodeſt and libidinous. This may poſſibly be applied with ſome juſtice to thoſe women who are ſold, or preſented to the great and the opulent.

Hence a reflection occurred to me, which I have often made to ſenſible Roman Catholics in their own country, that a convent education for young ladies deſtined to act a ſocial part, and live amongſt mankind, is improper and dangerous.

They are kept up recluſe, debarred the converſe of men, until they are almoſt marriageable: if they drop a word concerning them, it is reckoned indecent, and draws on them the frown of their ſuperior; even to think there is a ſex different from their own, is

almoſt

almoſt criminal; in ſhort, every natural ſentiment muſt be ſuppreſſed.

Their teachers do not reflect, that human nature craves after what is forbidden; that unextinguiſhable curioſity works up the imagination, and inflames the paſſions; and that, therefore, young women juſt freed from confinement, and entering the world without experience and without knowledge, muſt fall a prey to the firſt bold invader of their affections. Such an education frequently occaſions either a ſhipwreck of their virtue, or a diſproportioned and unhappy marriage: thus a rigid conſtraint in their youthful days makes them ſpend the reſt of their lives in miſery. Let them converſe early with men, and mix betimes with that general ſociety in which they are to paſs their lives; for leſſons of modeſty muſt make the ſtronger impreſſion on them, when they

they ſee the miſchiefs and misfortunes which attend the want of it; it is adding example to precept.

Whence the idea of the tranſcendant beauty of Turkiſh women has ariſen, is difficult to ſay, unleſs it be from the warm imaginations of inventive travellers, who firſt raiſed theſe beauteous phantoms, ſketched their forms, and became enamoured with originals they never ſaw.

Hence, throughout Chriſtendom, the fair Circaſſian has been the ſubject of romance and ſong; when, perhaps, there are not two Chriſtians who ever ſaw one of theſe Venus's. It is certainly impoſſible in Turkey: for from infancy to old age, ſcarce a ſingle trace of a Turkiſh woman's face is perceptible. No adult maiden is ever viſible, nor no married woman, except to their parents, brothers, or huſband. As ſoon as they

put

put on the *Macremma*, or Veil of Modeſty, every feature of their face is covered, except a ſmall part of the noſe and eyes; and ſome have carried that cuſtom to ſuch an extreme of delicacy, that when they feed their poultry, if there are cocks amongſt their hens, they will not appear before them without it. If Praxiteles or Apelles, with an angelic conception added to their art, had met the two *Harems* on the borders of the Boſphorus, they could not have formed the leaſt idea of the contour, form, or proportion of the face and features of one perſon among them; all to be diſtinguiſhed was black or blue eyes, and the tincture of the ſkin was juſt faintly diſcoverable.

However, as they carefully preſerve their faces from the harſh influence of the different changes of the air; as their hours are regular, and they are not

not expoſed to a nocturnal atmoſphere, or to the mixed warm exhalations of crowded rooms; we might expect, that if the original formation happens to be beautiful, and nature has given them a fair and vivid complexion, thoſe charms would be preſerved many years, and only ſuffer a gradual decay at the approach of old age.

The Greek women are not tied down to the rigorous obſervance of a Turkiſh reſtraint; they viſit frequently, and, except in the ſtreet, their faces are not muffled up in the *Macremma*. Of theſe we may ſpeak with certainty; they have, for the moſt part, good features and pleaſing countenances; but in general rather a tanned than a fair complexion.

The one and the other, indeed, become decayed before nature intended it: they deſtroy the whole texture of the ſolids by the too frequent uſe of hot

hot baths, and they haſten too early to matrimony.

The Turkiſh women are obliged to bathe by the precepts of their religion; the Greeks by cuſtom, luxury, and choice.

The number of public baths at Conſtantinople is prodigious, and that of the private ones incredible. The laſt, indeed, are the higheſt indulgence of luxury and vanity; for all who are any ways in eaſy circumſtances, have convenient baths of their own; and among the more opulent it is common to have them moſt magnificent.

The Turks and Jews may, on account of their religion, be held excuſeable, even in the extravagance of that expence; but the Greeks and Armenians have only empty vanity to apologize for it: they nevertheleſs indulge that vanity, although they tremble that a Turk ſhould know they dare imitate

imitate, or vie with them in magnificence.

The public and private baths may differ in their ornaments and dimenſions, but do not vary in their models and ſtructure; they ſeem formed merely for a decent and modeſt uſe.

They conſiſt of three rooms: the firſt is a large hall, where the bathers wait till the bath is ready for them; the ſecond is an apartment in which they dreſs and undreſs; and the third is the bathing room. The bath itſelf is a large ſtone or marble ciſtern, of capacity ſufficient to receive a man lying in it at his full length: in the public baths they have a number of theſe ciſterns, which are ſupplied with water by ſeveral pipes conducted through the walls. The bath-man, or woman, according to the ſex of the bather, attends, waſhes, rubs, and dries them with ſurpriſing dexterity and art, ſup-

pling

pling and ſtretching the joints in ſuch a manner, that imagination would perſuade one they diſlocate every part of the body; and yet this operation occaſions rather an agreeable ſenſation.

The women are generally attended by a female ſlave, or ſervant of their own: they undreſs in the room appointed for that purpoſe, and put on their bathing-cloaths, which are uſually of blue and white checked cotton. After they have bathed, they return again into this room; there is a ſopha in it, on which they throw themſelves and are dreſſed, and when ſufficiently cool, return into the hall. Thoſe who chuſe it have the bath heated on purpoſe for them; but two never bathe together in the ſame ciſtern; and different hours of admittance are aſſigned to the different perſons who intend bathing the ſame day. Indeed, the

heat

heat will not admit of a long ſtay in the bathing ciſtern, though moſt who uſe them indulge to too great an exceſs.

It is cuſtomary in Turkey to marry young boys of thirteen or fourteen to girls of eleven or twelve, and ſometimes even under that age: the practice is common among all ſects of religion. They are joined together on the good faith of their parents or relations; for they are never permitted to ſee each other before the nuptial night. Various tricks, it is ſaid, have been played on theſe occaſions among the Greeks and Armenians: the lame, the deformed, and the blind, were often matched to beauty and vigour. When the parties impoſed on complained, the contrivers of their diſappointment would anſwer with a compliment to their beauty and good qualities, and a profeſſion, that their inducement to this fraud

fraud was only a deſire to improve the race. This injury is the greater, as Chriſtians cannot eaſily obtain a divorce: but at preſent, indeed, the Greek girls become daily wiſer, and generally inſiſt on a peep at a window, or in a room; and are not ſo ſcrupulouſly delicate, as not to unveil to their ſuitor. Nay, they often marry without conſulting farther than their own inclination.

The Turks are more conveniently circumſtanced with regard to the matrimonial tie. The Grand Seignor is intirely exempt from it; he claims the privilege Mahomet reſerved for himſelf; and to avoid a formal contract of affinity, or, in the Turkiſh phraſe, not to mix blood with any family in his empire, he has no wife, but only concubines. The firſt of them who brings him a ſon is called the *Sultana Haſeki*: ſhe is crowned with flowers,

takes on her the prerogatives of a wife, and governs in the *Harem*.

Other Turks are allowed four wives. They may marry, or as it is called, *Kabbin*; that is, they appear before the tribunal of juſtice, declare the woman to be their wife, and enter into an obligation, that whenever they ſhall think proper to diſmiſs her, they will maintain the children, and give her a certain ſtipulated ſum, which they proportion either to their circumſtances, or to the time they judge it may be convenient for them to cohabit with her. It is no ſtain to a woman's character that ſhe is thus put away, nor much impediment to her finding another huſband.

Amongſt the middling or common people, the ſum is generally very moderate, and runs from * five

* An hundred and twenty aſpers is two ſhillings and ſix-pence.

thouſand

thouſand to a hundred thouſand aſpers.

Hence you find few of this rank who have more than one wife at a time; for they frequently change, diſmiſſing one and taking another, as it is done with little trouble, and at no great expence.

The opulent have often three or four wives, and perhaps many concubines; but if they chuſe to abide by the more laudable part of the law, and keep only two wives, it is equally convenient; for they may alternate and change as often as the number will admit.

After divorce they may retake the ſame woman a ſecond, but not a third time, unleſs ſhe has been married to another huſband. No man can marry a divorced woman ſooner than four months and a half after a total ſeparation from the former huſband.

The man may oblige the divorced woman to nurſe any infant ſhe has borne him till it is two years old.

From hence we may readily account why few common proſtitutes are to be found amongſt the Turks: their very religion furniſhes them, whatever their conſtitution and temper may be, with a ſuper-abundant variety and ſatiety of women.

Whether from ſuch a promiſcuous uſe of women, or from whatever other cauſe it may ariſe, there is not that number of children in Turkiſh families which the idea of polygamy naturally ſuggeſts: nay, it may be affirmed, that they have not, in general, as many children as are found in common families of Chriſtians or Jews. Giul Achmet, who died Baſhaw of the Morea, had the greateſt number I have heard of in one Turkiſh family; viz. nineteen. Among Chriſtians, I knew

knew one family of twenty-one, and another of twenty-three children, by one mother in each family.

May it not from hence be inferred, that polygamy is deviating from the law of nature? Is it not a ſtrong preſumptive argument to prove, that as the numbers of male and female births run almoſt in equal proportion; ſo to keep up a conſtant order of population, one woman only ſhould be allowed to one man.

That this ſuppoſed proportion between the number of men and women holds true, may be juſtly concluded from the obvious conſequence of polygamy in Turkey; for to what other cauſe can it be attributed, that they have not a ſufficient ſupply of women for their men? It is evident, that throughout the vaſt extent of the Mahometan dominions they have it not, but that women are daily imported

amongſt them from other countries: they are a merchandize of an exotic production; the price of which ebbs and flows, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of the market.

War ſupplies this want by the numbers of female captives: the Turks in their excurſions are very eager at ſeizing them; and women are then plenty and cheap.

But what is ſtrange, in time of peace the mere poverty and miſery of their neighbours the Georgians, who are a kind of Chriſtians, oblige that wretched people to furniſh ſpontaneouſly their choiceſt maidens to the Mahometan markets, as their country muſt ſtarve and periſh without that ſpecies of commerce.

I cannot help obſerving how the world has been impoſed upon and amuſed with romantic ſtories of the artful and ſubtle amorous intrigues carried

carried on with Turkiſh ladies. It is as eaſy to ſcale heaven, as to come at them: their apartments are fortreſſes, moſt of them ſurrounded with high walls, and they have not a window which opens towards the ſtreet; their guardians are ever about them; and the ſecret can never be with-held from ten, twenty, or double that number of other women. They ſeldom or ever walk the ſtreets but in infancy or old age; the rich are never ſeen: and were opportunities to offer, which might render it poſſible for a Chriſtian to attempt an intrigue with a Turkiſh woman, he knows, that on detection immediate death is his doom; and that thoſe who have been acceſſary, whether by encouragement or connivance, muſt ſhare the ſame fate.

It is difficult to give a juſt account of the manner in which Turks, men or women, ſpend their time when at

home. Some of the former are undoubtedly ſtudious, though moſt of them ſeem ever buſied about money-affairs and their perſonal intereſt. When they are diſpoſed to enjoy ſome relaxation among themſelves, the diverſions are ſtory-telling, quaint jokes, cheſs or draughts; and not unfrequently they amuſe themſelves with dancers and muſicians, who ply in the different parts of the town for employment.

If none of the company is ſufficiently facetious to entertain the reſt with that low ribaldry in which they chiefly delight, they find ſome dependant, whether Greek, Armenian, or Jew, who acts the part. Theſe take their place, in the middle of the room, on their knees, and tell their ſtory, or repeat their joke; whilſt the grave Turk ſmokes his pipe on the corner of the ſopha, and now and then teſtifies his appro-

approbation with a ſmile, or a dry laugh.

Gaming they highly deteſt, and look on a *Coomerbas*, a gameſter who plays for money, as worſe than a common thief; no being is more odious in their eyes: they, therefore, never touch a cheſs-table, or a draught-board, but for mere amuſement.

Their dancers they have from amongſt the Greeks; and what appears moſt unaccountable, unleſs we ſuppoſe it ariſes from the abſolute contempt in which they hold that people, is, that the Turks, born in the ſame climate, and mixed ſome centuries with them, have not yet adopted their mirth and jollity; and that they can hear and ſee them continually dancing and ſinging, without ſtirring a leg themſelves, or joining in a chorus. Such of them as uſe the ſea, are of neceſſity mixed among ſome hundreds of

of Greek mariners, who when they are on ſhore, or, indeed, on board their ſhip, are never without muſick and dancing; yet a Turk is never found revelling with them.

Nay, the men of high, or even middling rank among them, ſeem to look on dancing, in reſpect of themſelves, as unbecoming the dignity of man; befitting only the meaneſt and moſt abandoned of their ſpecies: they think with the ancient Romans—*Nemo fere ſaltat ſobrius niſi forte inſanit:* "No one dances, unleſs he is drunk or mad." They therefore never fall into that exceſs, except when they are quite mad, or almoſt dead drunk; indeed they are never ſo by halves; and then they ſeldom fail to call in, at leaſt, the public dancers, whoſe obſcene geſtures prohibit the glance of a chaſte eye.

Their

Their own vocal and inſtrumental muſic they have in eſteem. The vocal has a ſharp, ſhrill tone, as it were through the noſe of the finger; the voice is nevertheleſs pleaſing; and with all the diſcordancy of inſtruments, there is yet ſomething great and martial in the combined ſounds of the whole.

However, no Turk of any faſhion will deign to touch an * inſtrument; they hire minſtrels, or have women, or ſlaves, bred up for that purpoſe. But what is remarkable, neither Italian nor French muſic, vocal or inſtrumental, makes the leaſt impreſſion on them; their organs, or their conceptions, are not accommodated to ſuch

* A well known Greek Vaivode, or prince, of Moldavia, obtained that dignity by playing on the guitar to one Ephraim, or Ibrahim Effendi, a favourite of the Grand Seignor's.

ſounds;

ſounds; it ſeems to affect them like hearing an unknown language.

The women's great accompliſhments are ſinging and dancing; the men look on them as congenial to the ſex; but they are practiſed in private only, amongſt themſelves, ſimply as domeſtic amuſements, or to paſs an idle hour. In many *Harems*, indeed, I have heard that they embroider and ſpin.

The Grand Seignor often diverts his ladies with a variety of recreations. In the month of May they have the great Tulip-feaſt, which requires vaſt preparations. There are in the gardens of the Seraglio large parterres of variegated tulips, which, on thoſe days, are interſperſed with all kinds of ſinging birds; ſhops are erected round them, and furniſhed by the Grand Seignor with all ſorts of trinkets, toys, and rich ſtuffs: ſome of the moſt facetious females of his court are

the

the ſhop women; he buys from all, and regales all his ladies: at night the whole machinery is decorated with lamps, and makes a pleaſing proſpect even at a diſtance.

Great men indulge their women with the like amuſements, and on theſe occaſions of feſtivity ſome call in neighbouring *Harems*; ſo that, perhaps, the women paſs their time more happily and agreeably than we imagine; at leaſt they enjoy more health and vigour than if they had operas, plays, Ranelagh, Vauxhall, balls and routs, continually haraſſing their conſtitutions, and abridging a ſhort exiſtence in a vortex of capricious and turbulent diverſions.

Wine is ſeverely prohibited by their religion. Mahomet knew his ſectaries too well to entruſt them with the uſe of it; for they are ſtrangers to moderation in their paſſions: wine ſeems

to

to have a different effect on their conſtitution, from what it has on the reſt of mankind; it drives them generally to fury, frenzy, and diſtraction. But notwithſtanding the prohibition, the vice of drinking gains ground with the Turks, and imperceptibly creeps from the lower to the higher ſtations: perhaps, in this inſtance, as in many others, reſtraint may quicken appetite, and enflame deſire.

Men of ſome diſtinction, even thoſe in great offices, frequently make what they call parties of pleaſure, merely to get dead drunk; and after lying two or three days wallowing in their liquor, return freſh and happy to their office.

A frequent requeſt to ſuch Chriſtians as they know they can truſt, is to procure them the beſt wine. Some principal officers, both in the Seraglio and the Porte, have ſo ſtrong a paſſion for it, that they have invented ſmall

leather

leathern boxes, in which they convey it home without the privity of their truſtieſt ſervants: and I have known others full large leathern pipes which were pliant round their bodies, to carry wine ſurreptitiouſly into the Seraglio, at the riſque, perhaps, of their lives.

When it happens that towards the decline of life, religious ſcruples have ſeized them, or that thoſe in high office have apprehended the Grand Seignor might diſcover them by the odour of their morning's draught; they frequently change their wine to opium, which is equally intoxicating, and perhaps attended with worſe conſequences, both to the corporeal and mental faculties. Some ſtill continue that practice; but at preſent thoſe among the great, who feel the ſcruple or fear the diſcovery, rather betake themſelves to diſtilled ſtrong waters, with which they

they are abundantly ſupplied from Zant and Corfu. The caſuiſtry with which they ſilence their ſcruples is, that fire, which purifies all things, has by diſtillation, deſtroyed and diſſipated the impure parts of the wine; and that brandy is no where nominally interdicted by Mahomet. Thus they think they can diſtinguiſh away the precepts of the *Koran*, cheat the devil, their prophet, and the Sultan.

The vice of drinking wine is, however, looked upon with deteſtation by the generality of Turks; and even the uſe of opium held in great contempt as a vicious practice. When they would depreciate the character of any conſiderable man who is known to chew it, they call him a *Tiriachi*, that is, an opium-eater; by which they mean, a perſon of an extravagant and irregular turn of mind.

To give a diſtinct detail of the ſeveral military eſtabliſhments in Turkey, is not in the power of any mortal; I doubt whether any one man in their empire ever attempted it.

At Conſtantinople there are an hundred and ſixty-one *Oddas*, or chambers, for Janiſſaries, diſtinguiſhed by their numerical order, like our regiments, ſaid to contain from eight hundred to a thouſand each; but theſe different chambers are never fully occupied by that number. Moſt of thoſe whoſe names are enregiſtered as belonging to them, are diſperſed throughout the empire, live as burghers mixed with the people, and follow different trades and profeſſions.

The policy of Sultan Machmut, whoſe principal ſtudy and ſupreme object was his own ſecurity, has imper-

ceptibly reduced that formidable body of militia, at leaſt thoſe reſiding at Conſtantinople, to a ſtate of quiet dependance and ſubmiſſion.

All theſe *Oddas*, or chambers, originally intended for no more than forty thouſand, and ſince that time augmented, * are ſaid to have at preſent a hundred and ſixty thouſand men, or more, belonging to them; but this muſt be greatly exaggerated, and there are never within the walls of Conſtantinople above eight or ten thouſand. Theſe ſerve for a guard to the city, are formed to diſcipline, accuſtomed to chaſtiſement, bending to the ſtick, ſtrangers to the ancient ſpirit of that ſoldiery, and permitted no other weapon than a large taper club. If

* See a farther account of the Janizaries and the military eſtabliſhment of Turkey, in the preface.

any of them ſhould be guilty of inſolence, or attempt to be refractory, he is immediately diſpatched either to the frontier garriſon or to the other world.

The pay is ſmall; ſo that many who call themſelves of thoſe chambers, almoſt diſdain it: they receive the pay indeed, merely to be conſidered of that corps, and to enjoy its immunities, protection, and ſupport.

The duties, or cuſtoms, are, properly ſpeaking, farmed at Conſtantinople, and throughout the empire. The ſubjects of thoſe Chriſtian powers who are under capitulations, that is, who have treaties with the Grand Seignor, pay very low duties for goods imported from Chriſtendom; but the Turkiſh ſubjects ſufficiently compenſate that difference: the officers of the cuſtoms charge them at pleaſure, according to their will and ca-

price, eight, or ten, and more in the hundred for whatever they import.

Sultan Machmut, among other immunities, granted the Janiſſaries an exemption from theſe duties of importation. This has induced a ſurpriſing number of them to engage in the moſt lucrative branches of their coaſting trade; extending it even to Cairo, Syria, &c. and has effectually turned their martial into a commercial ſpirit. Thus by promoting induſtry, he introduced riches and luxury amongſt them; ſo that many of thoſe veterans, who formerly rejoiced in the confuſion of rebellions and revolutions, are at preſent anxious for the tranquillity of government, on account of their own ſecurity and eaſe.

It does not follow, however, but that the provincial Janiſſaries, and other orders of ſoldiery on the frontier would, at this day, appear as formi-

dable,

dable in the field as they have ever been; at leaſt there is reaſon to apprehend it from their behaviour the laſt year.

The Turkiſh cavalry conſiſts in a regular body of about thirteen thouſand Spahis: theſe are divided under ſix ſtandards.

The pay of theſe two corps of infantry and cavalry, as it is diſtributed every ſix months at Conſtantinople, amounts to two thouſand four hundred purſes, of five hundred dollars each.

Beſides theſe, there are the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, who hold feudal tenures, and are obliged, according to the value of the fief, to appear in the field, each with three or four horſemen, or more, well mounted and accoutred. Theſe are good troops, and exceeding numerous.

We might add many other bodies of militia. There are the *Gebegys*, who

have the care of the powder, ball, and all the ammunition for war: when they are complete, they ſhould amount to four thouſand men.

The *Tobegys* are the cannoneers, and have nothing elſe under their care but the caſting of cannon, mortars, &c. and charging and levelling them: they form a body of two thouſand men.

The bombardeers are alſo a ſeparate corps, entirely employed in the practice of throwing bombs.

This ſketch of the military force of the Ottoman empire muſt ſuffice for the preſent; a complete diſcuſſion of this ſubject would fill almoſt a volume. I juſt mention theſe different corps, to give ſome idea of the Turkiſh power, and ſhew, that in the military department, as in every other branch of government, the Turks obſerve eſtabliſhed regulations.

The

The police of that great city of Conſtantinople is admirable. The Janiſſaries, I have obſerved, are the city-guards: with ſingle clubs they keep all the inhabitants in ſubjection; no riots, no mobs, no diſorders are known in the ſtreets; at the leaſt noiſe the delinquents are ſecured, confined, and puniſhed.

In Sultan Machmut's reign, about thirteen Aſiatic Turks, prompted by enthuſiaſm, or inſpired with the fumes of opium, ran in a body through Conſtantinople, exciting the people with moſt vociferous exclamation, and unceaſing uproar, to inſtant rebellion, and exhorting them to raiſe their ſtandard at the Hypodrome. They ſtruck an univerſal terror through the inhabitants, the ſhops were all ſhut at once, and the outcry of a rebellion ſpread itſelf over the city. But theſe deſperate rebels found none hardy enough, or

ſufficiently prepared, to join them. Their celerity was ſo great, that the Janiſſaries could not reach them. They penetrated without meeting with any oppoſition into the *Bezeſtyn*, or great Exchange. Moſt of the ſhopkeepers there being Greeks; their ancient ſpirit aroſe, or rather, their own ſecurity obliged them to attack the rebels. Armed only with the poles which ſupported the ſhutters of their ſhops, they knocked down the Aſiatic Muſſulmans, who were all ſeized; whilſt the brave Greeks, terrified at their victory, quitted their ſhops to ſeek an aſylum, and to ſecure themſelves againſt the rigour of the law, for having murdered, as they imagined, the true believers.

The Sultan's equity, however, ſoon diſſipated their fears, and put a ſtop to any proceedings againſt them. He publiſhed, under the ſanction of the *Mufti*,

Mufti, not only a free pardon to the Greeks, but full permiſſion to his ſubjects of any religion to deſtroy all diſturbers of the public peace; he might have added, and of his own ſecurity.

Falſe weights are what the civil policy proſecutes and puniſhes with the utmoſt rigour. The Vizir himſelf in perſon often viſits the ſhops: the *Stàmbole Effendi*, or judge of Conſtantinople, watches them aſſiduouſly. The bakers* are the moſt frequent victims to the ſeverity of their juſtice. If in any ſhop they find bread ſhort of weight, they mulct and baſtinade for the firſt offence; but the conſequence of a ſecond or third after a ſummary proceſs, is a ſtaple driven into the middle of his floor-caſe, on which the offender is

* They are moſtly Armenians who exerciſe this trade.

hanged;

hanged; and it is not uncommon, as you paſs the ſtreets, to rub againſt a Baker's body pendent for three days ſucceſſively: it is, however, inconceivable that almoſt weekly examples cannot deter them from fraud.

CHAP. XV.

Obſervations on the Greeks.

THE modern Greeks bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the ancient. Too crafty and ſubtle, too intriguing, vain, and vindictive, either to ſupport and maintain the intereſt, reputation, and glory of a republic; or to ſubmit to government under a monarch of their own; their buſy ſpirit ſeems exactly formed and adjuſted to live no where tranquil but under a foreign yoke; where the

the heavy hand of power can depreſs the ſoaring ambition of their genius, and curb the violence of their paſſions; where ſeverity can awe them to obedience, and if not to the virtues of ſociety, at leaſt to ſocial peace and tranquillity.

The Turks have ſuffered them to retain ſome marks of honour, ſome traces of a former ſplendor; but theſe are entirely confined to the hierarchy of their church, and to three employments of profit and dignity in civil government.

The former conſiſts in their four patriarchs, and, perhaps, one hundred and twenty other metropolitan biſhops; the latter in the two vayvodlicks, or principalities, of Walachia and Moldavia; and the important office of *Dragoman*, or interpreter of the Porte, who is always a Greek,

Greek, and through whoſe hands all foreign tranſactions muſt paſs.

The Turks zealouſly ſupport the Greeks in theſe remains of honour: they are a never-failing ſource of wealth to the men in power, a ſure profit, of which they can avail themſelves without danger.

Whoever could live among the Greeks, and obſerve their refined intrigues, their eternal and continued conteſts for theſe eccleſiaſtical and civil dignities, would ſee a true portrait in miniature of the worſt Peloponneſian republics, and a moſt ſtriking reſemblance of their abominable practices under their own emperors, from Conſtantine to the laſt of the Palæologus's.

A Patriarch of Conſtantinople muſt ſpend among the Turks ninety or a hundred thouſand dollars, to obtain

that

that dignity. He ſeldom holds it above three years: and, during that time, he is continually ſtudying to ſecure himſelf on his * throne. Several powerful Turks, his protectors, require continual fees; he muſt devour the church to feed them; and in his precarious ſituation ſecure a conſiderable ſum to protect or reinſtate himſelf, after he is depoſed and exiled.

If he acquires this ſupreme eccleſiaſtical dignity by favour of the Seraglio, the moment after his exaltation, his diſappointed adverſaries and competitors begin to undermine him, and contrive his ruin. Indifferent whether with truth or falſehood, they traduce and blacken him to the Vizir; ſtrengthening and ſupporting their truth or calumny with a powerful preſent.

* The Greeks call it the Patriarchal Throne; and they addreſs him by the title *Agiotate*, or, *Moſt Holy*.

If the Porte patronizes him, and he has obtained the Vizir's protection, they apply to the Seraglio, and attack him there with the ſame arms.

Or if they have only the ſame canal through which the patriarch obtained his advancement, from that moment they are daily ſuggeſting new cauſes for his depoſition.

Different factions, which continually exiſt among the Greeks, unite together to effect his ruin, and contribute to ſupport the expence of theſe intrigues; and often perſonal hatred or family enmity, but moſt commonly intereſted views cement the union.

The Metropolitans, who generally reſide at Conſtantinople, exert all their art to circumvent each other; they make uſe of every moment, and employ every means, to depoſe a patriarch, or to get themſelves promoted to a better biſhoprick; and care not whom

whom they diſtreſs or ruin, provided they ſucceed.

Hence there are continually ſome of them in exile. Sometimes the man whoſe money has had ſufficient influence with ſome powerful Turk to procure his enemy's proſcription, is himſelf in the ſame caſe the next day; for another Turk of ſuperior weight, and actuated by the ſame motive, procures the baniſhed man the eaſy means of retaliation: in ſhort, theſe eccleſiaſtics are the object of a moſt lucrative game in the hands of the Turks, which the latter take care to play ſo artfully that it is never diſcontinued.

A Metropolitan had fixed his eye on an archbiſhoprick, which he was determined to have at any price. During the life of the archbiſhop, all his attempts were in vain; though, in good truth, the archbiſhop's character was ſuch, as might furniſh abun-

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dant reaſons even for a Turk to depoſe him.

At length the archbiſhop had a paralytic ſtroke; dropt drown ſuddenly, and was thought dead. Preparations were made for his funeral. The grand ceremony is to ſeat the dead prelate in his throne, dreſſed in his pontifical robes; while he thus ſits in ſtate, two chaplains attend at the door of the room, where all of the Greek religion are admitted to pay their laſt duty to him, and to kiſs his hand: they think it a meritorious act, a kind of religious duty.

The time allotted for this ceremony was elapſed, the moment approached for his interment, the coffin lay at the ſide of his throne, with all the requiſites for finally cloſing it up, when ſome of the principal men amongſt the Greeks, who could not attend before, earneſtly

earneſtly preſſed his two chaplains for admittance into the room, but were told it was then too late. They perſiſted, however, in their requeſt; and though the uſual hour was paſt, ſuch was the importance of theſe pious viſitors, the chaplains dared not refuſe. One of them advanced before the company; and as he approached, the archbiſhop opened his eyes, cried out for a glaſs of water, and aſked, what meant that diſmal apparatus of the coffin? Surprize and aſtoniſhment ſeized prieſt and people; they ran out of the room in amaze: the other chaplain, after ſome heſitation, boldly adventured, croſs in hand, to approach the archbiſhop, adminiſtered to his wants, and ſatisfied his enquiry.

During the interval in which the report of the archbiſhop's death prevailed, the Metropolitan applied to the ſlave of the *Kiſlar-Aga*, and offered to

pay him down immediately ſix thouſand zequins for the archbiſhoprick. All was agreed on, the money was paid, and the command from the Porte, which is their Conge d' Elire, was to be immediately made out. A few minutes after, news being brought to the Metropolitan that the archbiſhop was recovered, and alive, he went in haſte to the ſlave, and begged for his money again. But the ſlave told him, with a grave and compoſed mien, it was the ſame thing whether he paid it then, or ſome time after, for the archbiſhop could not live long; counſelled him to remain quiet; and promiſed, that although he would in the mean time keep the money, the Metropolitan might look upon himſelf as heir-apparent to the archbiſhoprick. The Black, his ſlave, and dependants, fell a ſacrifice to the public two months after the archbiſhop's reſurrection; and

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the latter lived two years longer, to laugh at the folly of his would-be-ſucceſſor, who, in fact, never ſucceeded.

But the arts, practices, and intrigues among the clergy are trifling, when compared with the extent and profundity, the labour, toil, and perſeverance of thoſe carried on among the pretenders to the Vayvodlicks of Walachia and Moldavia; they ranſack heaven and earth for means to deſtroy each other.

There are always, when two are in power, two or three of the depoſed who are endeavouring to be re-inſtated: theſe ſpare no coſt; they have the purſes ready of many expectants, as well as of their own dependants, who have ſhared the plunder of thoſe countries with them before; or if that be not ſufficient, they promiſe the ſum required, which they may ſecurely do;

for when once they are named, they find money at twenty-four for the hundred intereſt, although it often happens that the principal is never repaid.

It has been known that they have diſburſed, at the moment of taking poſſeſſion, from * fifteen hundred to two thouſand purſes of money to the Porte.

The intrigues they carry on have been ſo deep and dangerous, that they have coſt many, even opulent, Greeks their lives, which they have miſerably finiſhed in a halter at their own doors. A Frank reſiding at Conſtantinople, who acted as a dependant on a depoſed Vaywode, and thought himſelf ſufficiently protected, ventured to ſend a ſcheme to his correſpondent in Moldavia for excit-

* Ninety-three to an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds.

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ing that people to rebel againſt the Vaywode in poſſeſſion, accompanying it with ſevere reflections againſt the Turkiſh government; he ſent it by what he eſteemed the ſureſt conveyance. His letter, notwithſtanding his precaution, was intercepted, and he loſt his head near the Seraglio: no ſollicitations could ſave him.

The revenues of theſe principalities are racked to an inconceivable height. The princes juſtify that oppreſſion by the conſtant demand from the Porte: their purſes muſt be ever open, or they are inſtantly depoſed. Thoſe of Walachia are ſaid to amount to three thouſand purſes the year, but moſt people think it nearer four. Moldavia is ſaid to produce ſeventeen hundred purſes; but is eſtimated nearer two thouſand five hundred.

The contraſt obſervable between the behaviour of theſe mock princes in

power, and out of it, ſhews the degeneracy of the Greek character in a moſt glaring light. Oſtentatious pride, empty vanity, contemptuous inſolence, acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, attend their proſperity: Depoſed, you ſee them dejected, pliant, baſe, groveling, even to moſt abject ſervility. I have known them carried before the Stambole Effendi, or judge of Conſtantinople, for debt, and deny their own handwriting.

They are ſeldom depoſed without impriſonment, or exile, and being ſtripped of a large ſum; but when they throw forth more of their ill-gotten wealth into Turkiſh boſoms, they appear again at large; and often remount the throne.

Whatever arts and ſciences, whatever virtues might have been found in antient times among the Greek republicans, ſeem to have been obſcured,

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or totally loſt, under their emperors. The preſent Greeks have not a trace of them remaining. Their ancient language, or the literal Greek, as they call it, is a dead language: thoſe who do underſtand it, have learned it at ſchool.

The art of healing, ſo neceſſary to the human ſpecies, ſo much cultivated, and ſo highly honoured in ancient Greece, ſeems to be no farther conſidered among the preſent race, than as one of the faireſt means of introducing themſelves to the favour of Turks in power, and a ſpecies of traffic, by which they may with moſt probability expect to advance their fortune: the beſt of them are are ſtrangers, I fear, as much to the integrity as to the abilities of their great countryman Hippocrates.

Among the many pretenders to phyſic at Conſtantinople, are ſome few of

the Greeks who have ſtudied at Padua with tolerable ſucceſs; but the greater number are abſolutely ignorant of the firſt principles of the art: they have moſt of them taken no other degree than what is conferred on them by the mere fiat of the Echim Paſhi, or chief phyſician to the Grand Seignor. This they obtain for a ſmall fee: it authorizes them to open a ſhop; and thus qualified, they think themſelves privileged to ſport with the lives and purſes of their unfortunate patients. Shops are the diploma to practice; the ſale of drugs, good or bad, muſt furniſh them with ſubſiſtence; for the Turks are ſtrangers to giving fees, except to phyſicians under ambaſſadorial protection, and who have no ſhops: even then their fees are beſtowed very ſparingly.

A Greek phyſician of ſome note, finding himſelf in a time of peſtilence unable

unable to retreat into the country for want of money, ſet his wits to work how to provide it: they are fertile in reſources on ſuch occaſions. A Turk of high rank and great opulence had an only ſon, who happened juſt at that time to have a ſlight indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the eruption of a great boil. The Doctor, working on paternal tenderneſs and fear, ſoon perſuaded the father it was the plague, tho' he hoped of the leſs malignant kind. The father, alarmed, intreated and conjured him to undertake his cure. The phyſician, appearing to be ſeized with horrid apprehenſions, heſitated, doubted, and at laſt told him, that he knew but one poſſible method to enſure ſucceſs, which was by adminiſtring the bezoar ſtone, if he could by any ways and means procure it; for that it was extremely difficult to be found, and exceſſively dear. The father preſſed, intreated,

treated, conjured, that he would obtain one at any rate. The phyſician feigning great anxiety and perplexity where, and how to find it, left him with ſeeming deſpair of ſucceſs; yet pretending to go and ſeek for it: he returned, as if he had miraculouſly found one, though he had it in his pocket before. He had purchaſed it for ten ſhillings, but demanded of the Turk twenty-five pounds, as the loweſt price, and it was paid him. The cure ſucceeded, and the phyſician retired into the country, boaſting of his great abilities, which had ſupplied his immediate neceſſity by ſo ingenious, and, as he thought, laudable an expedient.

Another phyſician of more eminence in his time, gave out, that he could always command pregnancy in women by an infallible arcanum; that though he had made the diſco-

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very with great ſtudy and expence, he would not conceal it; for as no other phyſicians had it in their ſhops, he was the only one who could ſupply the afflicted with it; that, in ſhort, it was ſimply lion's urine. Buyers flocking to him, he prepared his own urine, and ſold it at an extravagant rate. If complaints were brought him that the medicine did not ſucceed, the excuſe was at hand; it was always ſome fault either in the time or manner of adminiſtring his medicine: he knew that with women he could not be admitted to correct either.

Any common ſervant to a phyſician of tolerable reputation, after a few years ſervice, were it only in beating at the mortar, or even in carrying about drugs, thinks himſelf ſufficiently ſkilled in the medical art to ſtand on his own bottom, and kill by diploma.

I have

I have known a Greek of great eminence and practice much favoured by a vizir; yet this Doctor could not write.

The Armenians, with ſeeming ponderous ſtupidity in their countenance and make, are yet, as to all animal wants, as ſubtle and deſigning a people as the Greeks.

They are reckoned the beſt grooms in Turkey; and by the care they take of a horſe, ſeem to have ſomething in their nature congenial with that animal. One of them, who had ſerved many years in that capacity, advanced his ſtation by being admitted as a menial ſervant of a private gentleman. His maſter fell into a decay, and though long attended by an able phyſician, died.

After his death, the Armenian, diſdaining ſervitude, ſet up for a phyſician.

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He was obſerved one day going to a Turk of great diſtinction, attended by ſeveral ſervants, and treated with uncommon reſpect. The queſtion being aſked who he was, it was anſwered, an eminent Armenian phyſician.

Some time after, one who knew him, expoſtulated with him on his inſolence and temerity; and aſked him, where, and by what means he could fancy he had learned phyſic? how he dared to expoſe his own life, which would be forfeited, the firſt time a Turk fell a victim to his own ignorance?

He anſwered, he had ſufficiently learned that art from the phyſician, who formerly attended his maſter; and who he was certain adminiſtered medicines with great caution; that as he had obſerved his maſter, in moſt diſorders, occaſioned by colds, had made uſe of warm punch, of which the Doctor alſo uſually partook, he had

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for that reaſon, conceived a high opinion of it, had tried it on himſelf with ſucceſs; and therefore, he limited his preſcription to that medicine only; and as it was exceedingly agreeable and palatable to the great men who employed him, and generally ſucceſsful, he was amply rewarded for it.

The city of Conſtantinople actually ſwarms with ſuch wretches, or rather indeed, worſe: they are, it is thought, increaſed within theſe forty years to above a thouſand.

Tho' the modern Greeks are almoſt ſtrangers to the virtues, or to all arts and learning of the antients, they have ſurpriſingly retained their levity. Without the leaſt knowledge of Homer, Anacreon, or Theocritus, they abound in poetry, ſuch as it is, love ſongs, ballads, and paſtorals; they are inceſſantly ſinging or dancing.

They have carefully preſerved the Cretan Lyre, and Pan's pipe, the *ſeptem imparibus calamis*, "ſeven unequal reeds," and alſo the pipe of the Arcadian Shepherds.

They ſtill uſe the ancient long dance led by one perſon, either with women alone, or intermixed with men and women, called by pre-eminence the *Romeika*, or Greek dance.

They have alſo the manly martial Pyrrhic dance, and thoſe moſt obſcene infamous love dances, accompanied with the *Ionici Motus*, offenſive to all modeſty and decency.

CHAP. XIV.

On the religion of the Greeks.

BEFORE I diſmiſs the Greeks, I ſhall take ſome notice of the ſtate of religion amongſt them, and produce a few facts to illuſtrate what I advance.

The name of Chriſtian, which they profeſs, with great conſtancy, under the oppreſſion of Turkiſh government, has induced us to commiſerate their ſufferings; while their abhorrence of popery, and the unremitting hate with which they are perſecuted by the Romaniſts, have recommended them to Proteſtants of every denomination; and peſuaded us, that their religion has a reſpectable ſhare of purity both in its doctrines and practice.

About the time of the Reformation, and more eſpecially in the reign of

James I. even thoſe inclined to Puritaniſm entertained a favourable opinion of the Greek church. Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Conſtantinople, had almoſt perſuaded archbiſhop Abbot, that his doctrines did not differ from perfect Calviniſm. The patriarch meant no more by this, than to obtain the favour of the Engliſh court, and the protection of their ambaſſador at Conſtantinople; ſuppoſing it the moſt probable means of ſecuring himſelf from the violent perſecution raiſed againſt him by the miniſters of the Roman Catholic powers, who, at that time, with the moſt aſſiduous activity, and at a prodigious expence, in ſupport of their own miſſionaries, attempted the ſubverſion of the Greek church; but it muſt be acknowledged, that he gave a very falſe account of his religion.

It is with great reluctance that I repeat the melancholy truth, but it is the truth, the Greeks, like ſome other ſects of Chriſtians, have entirely neglected to cultivate the practice of true religion. They ſeem to have forgotten thoſe real, and, perhaps, only terms, on which mortals can render themſelves acceptable to the Deity; that purity of manners, brotherly love, forgiveneſs of injuries, juſtice in our dealings, and thoſe other Chriſtian duties every where inculcated in the goſpel of Chriſt; while the name of religion is ſolely appropriated to the firm belief of certain myſteries, and the regular practice of external acts of humiliation and worſhip, with a ſtrict obſervance of many auſtere faſts and mortifications, which at beſt can be only intended as the means of facilitating our approach to Chriſtian perfection.

Hence

Hence it is, that the Greeks ſeem to look on the eternal laws of ſocial and moral virtue as the ſhadow only, and the arbitrary injunctions of their church, as the very eſſence of Chriſtianity; and they think to compound for the total neglect of the former, by a rigid obſervance of the latter; inſomuch that a Greek of the moſt depraved manners would ſuffer almoſt any thing, ſooner than break a religious faſt: the Armenians, indeed, ſurpaſs them in the number and auſterity of theſe faſts, and in the ſtrictneſs of their abſtinence.

Although the love of money is not leſs predominant with the Greeks than with the Turks, yet their purſes are ever open for the ſupport of the eccleſiaſtical dignity, the building and decoration of their churches, and the maintenance of their claims to the ex-

cluſive poſſeſſion of the holy places in Paleſtine, againſt the Romaniſts, who make the like pretenſions.

At the acceſſion of Sultan Muſtapha, their preſent ſovereign, the Greek churches were in a ruinous condition; one of them had been almoſt entirely burnt down: the Mahometan law does not permit new churches to be erected; even large repairs are prohibited. On the birth of the Sultan's firſt child, the Vizir ſuggeſted to him what kind of favours he ſhould confer on his different ſubjects, during the ten days appointed for the rejoicings on that great event, ſo important to the peace of the empire. Amongſt others he mentioned, as a moſt acceptable indulgence to the Greeks, a permiſſion to repair that church which the fire had almoſt deſtroyed: he durſt not aſk leave to rebuild it, though there was ſcarce a wall ſtanding. The

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Grand Seignor condeſcended to grant them the ten days for that repair. No ſooner was this known, but every Greek maſon and labourer quitted all his other work, and flew to contribute his aſſiſtance at the church: two or three thouſand men conſtantly relieving each other, the whole was accompliſhed, and the church rebuilt, in leſs time than was allowed for the repair, and that without any one diſburſing a ſixpence. The only reward the workmen received for their indefatigable labour was conſcious merit, and the prieſt's bleſſings. Let this ſuffice for an inſtance of their zeal.

I could wiſh to throw a veil over the ſcandalous contentions which have been carried on between the Greeks and Romaniſts on account of Bethlehem, and the Holy-Land, as it is called: the iniquitous proceedings attending them are ſo enormous, as

ſhamefully to diſgrace the Chriſtian name. The ambaſſador who protects the intereſt of the Romiſh religion, becomes, on theſe occaſions, notwithſtanding his high dignity, a real object of compaſſion.

Immenſe ſums are raiſed in all the countries of the Romiſh perſuaſion, to ſupport them againſt the Greeks, in their pretenſions to a ſpot of ground which they fancy ſacred; and to preſerve in the hands of popiſh monks and friars the remains of an old ſtable at Bethlehem, where a chapel is built, and in which, on the authority of an uncertain oral tradition, they ſuppoſe Chriſt was born; and alſo a ſepulchre, which may be, but moſt probably is not, what they call it, his ſepulchre: the exact ſituations of both places, are at preſent as unknown as that of Julius Cæſar's urn.

Why

Why the princes of Chriſtendom will ſuffer their countries to be deſpoiled of ſo much wealth, and permit it to be paid on this account, as a tribute into the hands of the Turks, is hardly conceivable; and why no angel has flown, or ſwam, acroſs the ſea with this ſepulchre, or this manger, as with the houſe at Loretto, is yet a greater wonder. Princes, it ſhould ſeem, ſtill permit this tribute to be paid to the Turks, becauſe they have thought it beſt to leave this buſineſs as they found it; and not chuſing to meddle with what are called religious matters, ſuffer the clergy to go on with the ſame practices as prevailed in the times of the darkeſt ignorance, and the moſt extravagant ſuperſtition. At preſent, few or no pilgrims of the Romiſh perſuaſion reſort to theſe places of devotion. So that the moſt probable reaſons to be aſſigned for the at-

tachment of their clergy to the poſſeſſion of them are, that it occaſions much money to paſs through their hands, and affords a maintenance for about an hundred and ſixty idle monks and friars, who are diſtributed about that country.

In the conteſt between the Greeks and Romaniſts for the right of poſſeſſing the chapel at Bethlehem, and the ſtable, treaſures have been expended by both parties, to the great emolument of the Turks, who take care, from time to time, to encourage the diſpute, giving ſentence ſometimes in favour of the one, and ſometimes of the other. Under Ragib Baſhaw's government, it was finally determined in favour of the Greeks, at an expence equivalent at leaſt to 10,000l. ſterling.

The Holy Sepulchre has been, and ſtill is, as great an object of contention

tion between them, and a prodigious annual expence to both.

But what is worſe, the Turks knowing the riches and obſtinacy of theſe contending parties, find numberleſs other pretences to pillage their wealth. The caravan for Mecca paſſes near Jeruſalem. When it approaches that holy city, the *Emir Hadge* either enters in perſon, or ſends a meſſage to demand a loan from the Greek and Romiſh convents; or, perhaps, on ſome pretence of right, to exact a ſum of money, 20, or 30,000 l. ſterling from each party: they dare not refuſe. If it be a loan, it is never repaid; if on a pretence of right, be it ever ſo groundleſs, the ſum is irrecoverably loſt, and never heard of more.

The Greeks behave with much prudence on theſe occaſions; they ſtifle their complaints, bear the loſs, and immediately repleniſh the fund, that they

they may again be in a condition to combat the Baſhaws and the Romaniſts: they would even ſell their children rather than permit the latter to triumph over them.

The ambaſſador, whoſe peculiar charge it is to protect the Romaniſts, wears out his very ſoul in fruitleſs application at the Porte, to recover the ſum of which his convent has been ſtripped. With much difficulty he may obtain the Sultan's command in his favour, that is, an order for reimburſement; but it procures him no money; and what is more vexatious, he is frequently impoſed on, by the miſrepreſentations and downright falſities of theſe prieſts and monks eſtabliſhed in Paleſtine, who are continually peſtering him with ſlanderous accuſations againſt the Greeks: He is officially bound to ſupport them; and after ſuffering in his credit at the Turkiſh

court, by the mortifications he is obliged to bear, when theſe falſities are detected; he is reviled at Rome by the whole body of clergy, as a lukewarm Chriſtian, and an unſkilful politician.

The Greek ſyſtem of religious opinions and their mode of worſhip, are pretty generally known. They agree with the Romaniſts in the main points of the doctrine of the corporeal preſence, their veneration for ſaints, and the adoration they pay to the Virgin Mary: in their image-worſhip they differ; they honour paintings, but allow of no ſculpture. The proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt is another, and moſt important article of diſſenſion; they hold it is from the Father only. They ſcoff at the pope's pretenſions to infallibility, and at his claim to be ſupreme head of the univerſal Chriſtian church. Their clergy give no

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previous diſpenſation for the omiſſion of any religious duty, but reſerve the abſolution of all tranſgreſſions and ſins till after they are committed.

Abſurd and ſuperſtitious practices abound among them, and frequent abuſes happen, the natural concomitants of uninformed credulity, not peculiar to the Greeks only: one of a ſingular nature was carried on a few years ago, by a *Caloyero*, or monk. He had ſome years before been noted for his irregular and profligate life, and had been in the gallies at Conſtantinople. On being releaſed, he affected an extraordinary degree of ſanctity, and enthuſiaſtic fits of devotion. If he did not lay claim to the higher gifts of miraculous powers, he at leaſt pretended to have celeſtial communications, and to be endowed with the peculiar grace of enſuring to women in years, happineſs in the world to come; and to the

the young and middle-aged females the happineſs of this world a numerous iſſue. Barrenneſs is looked upon in Turkey as a curſe: women who bear no children are hardly treated with common civility, the ſovereign good and honour therefore of every wife in that country, is to be a good breeder. The hope of becoming mothers, it may of courſe be imagined, led ſhoals of unhappy females to the new ſaint; the privileged diſpenſer of pregnancy.

He eſtabliſhed himſelf at Caterlee, a village in Aſia, to which you paſs by water in a few hours from Conſtantinople; his emiſſaries were diſperſed through all the neighbourhood, and wherever they went, ſpread the fame of his ſanctity and his marvellous gifts. Devotees flocked to him: it was reckoned that eight thouſand women, of different ages, ran in a ſhort time, to participate of ſuch de-

ſirable graces. The ſaint was a ſtout man, of a middle age, and never failed to ſend away his female votaries perfectly edified.

Some men at length viſited him, and ſeemingly approved his proceedings; not that they really believed in his pretenſions to ſanctity, but becauſe they would not, by publiſhing their ſuſpicions, caſt the leaſt ſhadow of injury on the character of the ſex. They wiſhed the ſterility of their wives removed, but they apprehended the means might be diſagreeable to themſelves. The journey was pleaſant, the paſſage by water convenient, and other adventures might co-operate with the ſaint's ſpiritual endeavours. Hints of this were given to the Turks, who ſoon made this impoſtor decamp. He was not heard of afterwards. He did not, however, quit his vocation empty-handed; for the condition of approaching him

was

the purchaſe of a conſecrated wax-taper; beſides a free-gift; in both which articles, religious zeal, and the deſire of becoming mothers, had engaged the good women to pay moſt generouſly.

The Greek religion, I am, however, told, is better ſupported, and maintained with greater purity on its primitive foundation in other countries, where it is profeſſed undiſturbed by Mahometans or Romaniſts. Nor would I be thought to mean, that there are no ſelf-denying Metropolitans, and other honeſt men even amongſt thoſe in Turkey.

THE

STATE

OF THE

TURKEY COMMERCE

CONSIDERED;

From its Orgin to the preſent Time.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A Sincere zeal for the welfare of my country, to promote which I look upon as the firſt duty of every good ſubject, has induced me to lay the preſent ſtate of the Turkey trade before the public.

Here the people of England may ſee how much they are intereſted in the ſupport of this trade; and that on them depends its preſervation or total deſtruction. They ſhould therefore make it their ſtudy to reconcile the ſeemingly jarring intereſts and private views of merchants and manufacturers, the unnatural jealouſies ſubſiſting between different parts of the kingdom, as well as between county and county, ſince the intereſt of them all, if rightly underſtood, is one and the ſame. They ſhould likewiſe fortify their ſouls with manly reſolution, and endeavour to become ſuperior to vain, imaginary horrors, and groundleſs fears of peſtilence and contagion. They ſhould like men of ſenſe judge of future, by a retroſpect of former times, and take it for granted, that what has not happened in the courſe of two centuries, will never come to paſs.

Our excellent monarch, whoſe abilities are equal to his virtues, being thoroughly informed of

the ſtate of the Turkey commerce, and of the advantages and diſadvantages reſulting from every branch of the trade of theſe kingdoms, uſes his beſt endeavours to promote their proſperity. His miniſters have done their utmoſt to forward and aſſiſt the Levant trade; but they have no power over the paſſions and prejudices of the human mind. This is the work of reaſon alone; let Engliſhmen therefore endeavour to act and think juſtly, and bring their biaſſed underſtandings to a right ſenſe of their country's good. Let them with ſteadineſs and reſolution have recourſe to the effectual methods to vanquiſh their rivals in trade. If they exert themſelves properly, their efforts will be ſeconded by the powerful aſſiſtance of the whole legiſlature, which will not fail to join in reviving and re-eſtabliſhing this important and lucrative commerce, now at its laſt gaſp.

Such errors and miſtakes as may occur in the following ſections, are ſubmitted to the candid review and correction of thoſe, to whom experience in theſe matters may ſuggeſt any thing farther uſeful on ſo important a ſubject.

THE

THE STATE OF THE TURKEY COMMERCE CONSIDERED.

SECT. I.

Previous General Remarks.

THE principal qualities required in a financier, as a great * ſtateſman has obſerved, and experience confirms, are a moderate ſhare of judgment, great in-

* On peut aſſurer que les finances d'un état ſont omb ées en des bonnes mains, lorſq' un peu de jugement, beaucoup de travail & d'exactitude & plus de probité encore, ſont les qualités du Financier. *Sully's Memoirs.*

duſtry and exactneſs, and ſtill greater integrity. The ſame obſervation holds good with regard to merchants; induſtrious men of moderate parts are the people that make fortunes by trade, whilſt men of lively genius and quick talents generally prove unſucceſsful. Imagination and vivacity of genius are ſeldom found compatible with induſtry and exactneſs, or even a ſmall portion of judgment; and I fear it would be too hard a taſk for ſuch unthinking minds, to ſubject themſelves to act conſtantly according to the ſtricteſt unbiaſſed rules of integrity.

Speculative writers on commerce have rather given us the ſallies of their own imagination, than any uſeful hints towards its improvement: it is ſcarce poſſible they ſhould do otherwiſe; for commerce is not merely to be confined to theoretical diſcuſſion;

it

it muſt become practical, and can be proved and inveſtigated only by experiment; it is nothing elſe but a barter or exchange of the commodities or products of one country for thoſe of another. Nations therefore, which intend to become commercial, ſhould endeavour to find out others that have wants, which their own products or manufactures may ſupply; and from whence they can receive ſuch products and manufactures as their own neceſſities may require; or if they have none, which can ſeldom be the caſe, the returns then to be made at an intermediate value in gold or ſilver. But nations which have been eſtabliſhed in commerce for centuries, and whoſe proſperity excites envy, ſhould be ſwayed by other motives. The preſervation of what they poſſeſs, ought to have more weight with them than any other conſideration; and

when they ſee a general commercial ſpirit diffuſed all over Europe, they ſhould exert themſelves moſt diligently and ſeriouſly, to obviate any ill that may befall their own commerce. If they find it any way decline, they ſhould endeavour to trace the cauſe of ſuch decline, whether it ariſes from any defect in their own products and manufactures, or from any advantage other nations may have over them, by their ſuperior induſtry; or, as it is but too frequently the caſe, from any prejudice of the countries they trade with, in favour of other nations, their rivals. By ſuch a provident attention they may find means to retrieve their commerce in time, and diſappoint thoſe who have riſen in competition againſt them.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Origin and Progreſs of the Turkey Trade.

THE great importance of the Levant or Turkey trade is well known to this kingdom: the ſtems of nobility ſprung from that root loudly proclaim its former ſplendour. Commerce will have its ebb and flow; but this branch has ſunk to ſuch a degree, that the channel remains almoſt without hope of repleniſhing. We ſhould not, however, deſpair; for, in taking a view of the cauſes of its decline, by examining the paſt and preſent ſituation of that great branch of commerce, and the ſtate of that of our rivals the French, remedies may ſtill be ſuggeſted, to re-ſtabliſh it in ſome degree upon a footing advantageous to our own people.

The

The commercial capitulations ſubſiſting between the crown of Great Britain and the Grand Seignor, were begun and formally confirmed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: additional privileges were ſucceſſively granted in that of James the firſt, and of Charles the ſecond. They are called capitulations, and not treaties, becauſe they are mere conceſſions for privileges of trade, granted by the Porte, and no reciprocal conceſſion, but merely a ſtipulation of friendſhip on the part of Great Britain.

Under theſe capitulations a number of merchants obtained a charter of ſome limitation. They were to bear the whole expences which might occur in England or the Levant; to pay ambaſſadors, conſuls, and interpreters in Turkey, and ſubmit to all the diſadvantages and inconveniences reſulting from the Turkiſh government. They were

were citizens of London, living within twenty miles of that capital, or noblemen's younger ſons qualified by birth; or ſuch as by ſervitude to thoſe under the charter obtained the freedom of the city; or, laſtly, thoſe who purchaſed the freedom of the city and their right to the charter for ſeventy pounds. They had no common ſtock, each individual traded in his own way, and on his own bottom. This ſociety had a power of making whatever bye-laws might ſeem calculated to promote the advantage of their commerce. A judicious code was drawn up to regulate the conduct of the ſeveral members and factors at home and abroad; theſe were afterwards amended, as events aroſe or experience directed. They had regular ſtated ſeaſons for ſending out their ſhips annually; and in theſe general ſhips, as they were called, each individual

dual ſent what ſort and quantity of merchandize he thought proper to the markets in Turkey, conſigning his venture to ſuch Engliſh factors as he judged beſt qualified to diſpoſe of them to advantage. He had his returns in the ſame manner.

They prohibited all bullion, whether gold or ſilver, to be ſent into Turkey, that all purchaſes there might be made by the produce of our own manufactures; this has been ſince confirmed by law.

Under theſe regulations this trade flouriſhed; and, I may venture to ſay, was the ſtandard commerce of Great Britain for a century; the nation enjoyed it almoſt without a rival. In the reign of James I. there were not leſs than from twenty to thirty Engliſhmen reſiding at Conſtantinople, as many at Smyrna, beſides ſeveral others diſperſed on the coaſt of Syria.

As

As the charter was confined to merchants of reputation and ample fortunes; the young men ſent abroad, had, by their education, acquired liberal ſentiments, and behaved themſelves amongſt the Turks with ſuch uncommon order and decorum, that the character of an Engliſh merchant was in high credit with that nation.

The exports to Turkey were very conſiderable, all in our own manufactures; our cloth was ſold for ready money upon the arrival of the ſhips; the probity and good faith of our merchants and manufacturers were ſuch, that the drapers bought the cloth on ſeeing the patterns, without examining the inſide of the bale, and were not deceived, the true ſtandard of goodneſs never failing. Such was the ſtate of this trade in its flouriſhing times.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Decline of the Turkey Trade, and from what Cauſes.

WE have been told for many years paſt, that the decline of the Turkey trade has been totally owing to the induſtry of the French in manufacturing their cloth, and to the moderate price at which they ſell it: this has, doubtleſs, contributed to our misfortune; but we have never taken into conſideration the concurrence of events and circumſtances, of which they have judiciouſly availed themſelves: if we give a ſufficient attention to theſe, we ſhall, I believe, be convinced, that the quality of the French cloth alone would never have reduced our trade with Turkey to its preſent low ebb. For if the Levant company had been

been preſerved, in its original ſtate, and the ſtandard of our old cloth kept up, by means of the preſent gratuity from parliament, we may preſume that we ſhould have to this day ſupported that trade, without perceiving any conſiderable diminution.

Our cloth was ſtout, the wool fine ſpun, a cloſe woof, ſhort nap, not immoderately ſtretched on the tenters, of good bright colours; but, what rendered it more valuable to the drapers in Turkey, was, that it would ſtand the taylor's teſt, and ſuffer him to ſpout cold water, and then paſs a cold iron over it without raiſing the nap. The French cloth was undoubtedly of a finer wool and finer ſpun, but thinner, of little ſubſtance, a looſer woof, yet with a ſhort nap, and a variety of bright fancied colours: and, indeed, it has been ſo thin

of

of late, that they greatly underſell us, though perhaps at a loſs *.

That the French did not much interfere with our cloth from the year 1729 to 1739, will appear from the regular quantity of our imports into Conſtantinople during that period of ten years †.

It has been ſaid that our imports amounted from 7 to 800 bales before that period; but even though that ſhould be admitted, the French cloth might not have been the ſole cauſe.

We know by experience that the leaſt remove of any branch of trade out of the uſual courſe, tho' but for a ſhort time, will, where rivals can come at a ſupply, cauſe that courſe to ſtagnate, and expoſe this branch of trade to a total ruin: wants muſt be ſup-

* French cloth then ſold at $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars the pike, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Engliſh yard; and ſince, at 75 paras *.

† See note concerning imports, Sect. iv.

* Note, 40 paras make a dollar, and 16 paras one ſhilling.

plied, and one ſo eſſential as that of a covering to ſhelter the body from the inclemency of the weather, will occaſion a conſtant demand of ſuch goods as are adapted to that purpoſe. War, rumours of war, the uncertain ſtate of the political world, with regard to peace and war, in which a nation may be involved, will ſtop the hand of the merchant; he will not care to run a new riſk, nor expoſe his property to high inſurance; he therefore interrupts buſineſs, and the draper abroad muſt buy his cloth where he can.

This may have been the caſe in the years 1727 and 1728, by our diſpute with the houſe of Auſtria and Spain, terminated by the treaty of Seville; which may have afterwards prevented the increaſe of our exports in the ſame quantity as before that period.

The factor may have ſent complaints of his being under apprehen-

ſions that the cloth had loſt the currency, for want of a ſupply, which may have ſlackened his principal's ſhipping in 1729, till he had tried the market. Hence may have ariſen a decreaſe of the quantity of cloth by ſome bales annually. Be that as it may, this truth has been but too glaring ever ſince 1739, and from that period we may date a ſenſible decline of our trade to Turkey. This went ſo far, that there was not a ſingle bale of cloth imported into Conſtantinople that year, which was owing to the Spaniſh war. The trade, though in a languiſhing ſtate, continued to be carried on till the year 1744. It was not the dread of war alone, that gave it the firſt fatal blow, but an unhappy ill-judged regulation at home, which produced many ill conſequences. An eminent citizen, who received as much hearſay information as any man

the kingdom, and who was liſtened to like an oracle in parliament, laid it down as a maxim, that all companies were pernicious, and ſhould be deſtroyed.

Unfortunately he conſidered the Levant ſociety, which traded without any joint ſtock, as one of theſe. His ſentiments were zealouſly adopted by other conſiderable perſons, who, no doubt, had different views. The motive by which they ſeemed to have been chiefly actuated, was a deſire to diſplace the prime miniſter; they thought he had too long poſſeſſed his exalted dignity, and ſeemed to repine at his proſperity. Having formed this deſign, they apprehended that the firſt ſtep towards carrying it into execution, was to deprive him of the ſupport of the trading companies; and took it for granted that when they had thus ſapped

the foundations of his power, it would be an eaſy matter to wreſt it from him, and get it into their own hands.

The Turkey merchants at that time formed the moſt opulent and reſpectable body of men in the city; this of courſe rendered them objects of envy. As they ingenuouſly acknowledged the decline of their trade; idleneſs and want of induſtry, the natural conſequences of affluence and eaſe were laid to their charge. It was therefore urged, that this trade ſhould be put into the hands of more induſtrious men, that they might revive and reſtore to a flouriſhing condition a branch which the others had monopolized, and then ſuffered to run to decay. In conſequence of theſe general and repeated outcries, the Levant company was doomed to fall the firſt victim. So powerful were its enemies, that the total ruin of the ſociety ſeemed to be

be at hand; but they could not compaſs the chief point which they had in view, namely, that of entirely deſtroying their charter. The parliament ſoon perceived, that neither themſelves nor government could ſupport a branch of trade, which thoſe, whoſe immediate intereſt it was to preſerve it, were ready to throw up. The batteries againſt theſe were therefore changed, and a reſolution formed to introduce ſome alteration in their charter and their bye-laws, eſpecially that of annual ſhips, which ſeemed to be the greateſt abuſe, and to furniſh the moſt ſpecious pretext for oppoſing the ſociety.

It was aſſerted that ſuch a limitation was highly prejudicial to navigation, prevented the employing of ſhips, and obſtructed the increaſe of ſeamen. This objection appeared to parliament to be ſo juſt and ſolid, that a reſolution was quickly formed to permit

every member of the company in the Levant-trade, to ſend ſhips at whatever time of the year they thought proper. The beſt meaning men in parliament were hurried along by the torrent of prejudice, the utmoſt art having been uſed by deſigning perſons to prepoſſeſs their minds, and draw them in to ſecond their ill intentions. They would not open their eyes to a ſelf-evident truth; namely, that no advantage in the monopolizing way could be derived by individuals from theſe annual ſhips; and that the company in general was ſtill leſs able to avail itſelf of them, as the members were generally at variance, and divided amongſt themſelves. They would not reflect, that in order to promote navigation, goods and merchandize muſt find a currency and vent abroad; that the very extenſion of navigation they had reſolved upon, was an

effectual

effectual method to prevent the ſales of cloth in Turkey, and that of conſequence they contributed to ruin both trade and navigation.

Drapers in Turkey, whether Greeks or Jews, are animals that have nothing in common with the reſt of the human ſpecies but their form; they abound with low cunning in contriving the means of ſupplying their wants; their lives are entirely regulated by habit and cuſtom; nay, moſt of them are blindly attached to the manners and way of living of their forefathers. An inveterate cuſtom among them, and which had been delivered down from father to ſon for a century, was to buy their cloth for ready money upon the arrival of our annual ſhips, to take the ſupply that autumn, and then lie by contented, that no more Engliſh cloth could be

imported till the year following. But they no ſooner heard that a new regulation was going to be made, that ſhips would drop in every month, and that if they would ſtop their hands at the firſt ſhip and ceaſe buying, ſuch quantities of cloth would ſoon be imported that the price would of conſequence fall conſiderably, than they immediately followed the advice, waited the coming of a ſecond ſhip, and after that of a third, till the ſeaſon for buying was elapſed. In the mean time our rivals left no ſtone unturned to make the drapers believe, that it would be for their advantage to provide themſelves with their cloth, and ſo far ſucceeded, that the little we ſold them could be got off only by dint of prolonged credit.

It muſt therefore be acknowledged, that this regulation greatly contributed, with

with other concurring cauſes, to occaſion the ruin of our trade. For though we may in part aſcribe the decline to the quality and cheapneſs of French cloth, to the threats of impending war, and to the uncertainty of the political ſtate of Europe, or to actual hoſtilities; if we include the period from 1729 to 1738, we ſhall find that in thoſe years, as well as in 1733 and 1739, our ſtate of uncertainty was worſe even than a ſtate of war; and yet from ten years of the former period to ten years of the latter, our imports of cloth into Conſtantinople decreaſed greatly above one half. In the firſt period they amounted to 574 bales of cloth annually; in the latter from 1739 to 1748 inclusive, to 236 bales. Hence the annual decreaſe appears to have been of 338 bales. Notwithſtanding the viſible deſtruction of our trade reſulting from this

this meaſure, and the triumph of our rivals which followed thereupon, theſe conſequences were ſo little the objects of concern at home, that, as if ſome evil genius was determined to give the Levant trade the laſt blow, and plunge it into utter ruin, there followed two other regulations in the year 1754, which did the buſineſs effectually.

SECT. III.

Alteration of the charter extremely prejudicial to the Turkey trade.

ONE of theſe regulations was propoſed in parliament under the ſpecious pretence of public good, like the former, tho' it was evident only private views were intended. The outcry on this occaſion, as well as in part on the former, was founded upon that odious word monopoly; it

it was urged, that this Levant company, or rather no company, continued to foſter that monſter; that their charter, confined to citizens and noblemen's younger ſons, cramped all induſtry, prevented the honeſt and induſtrious citizen and trader in every other town, and all his majeſty's ſubjects in general, from trading to the Levant.

Briſtol, as the next city for commerce to London, was of courſe concerned in the affair, for this buſtle was excited merely on her account; a law however was propoſed in parliament, with regard to all the out-ports, and, in general, that all ſubjects of Great-Britain, and even naturalized perſons, ſhould have the freedom of that company, on paying 20 l. ſterling.

The fact is, that the Levant company could admit on a legal conſtruction of their charter any Engliſh ſubject to the

the freedom of that ſociety; the beſt counſel had been conſulted, but the opinions of none but parliamentary counſel were attended to; the kingdom was alarmed, and ſo the law paſſed in parliament. Conſequences were as little foreſeen in the preſent, as in the former caſe; the matter was ſpecious, and that was ſufficient: they never once took it into conſideration what capitals were neceſſary to carry on the Levant trade, nor whether every man that was able to pay the 20 l. had a ſufficient fortune to ſupport the accidents and delays attending that branch of commerce. The old Turkey merchants might have told them, as I take it for granted they did, that very conſiderable capitals were requiſite for carrying on that trade, as they were often under a neceſſity of waiting two or three years for the returns of their merchandize: that as credits were already extended

in Turkey, they might increaſe enormouſly, whence thoſe who were diſtreſſed for money, muſt be obliged to force ſales, or barter at any rate: that when they imported merchandize into England, they muſt preſs ſales for money at profit or loſs, and therefore ſuch merchants as engaged in that trade, ſhould be perſons who could wait patiently the currency of market for ſales or returns, and be ſatisfied with 5 or 6 *per cent.* the year for their money, as was the caſe of thoſe who were actually concerned in carrying on and ſupporting that commerce.

The old merchants had continued with reſtrictions and caution to ſhip goods for Turkey, for the ſake of their friends the factors abroad, ever ſince the year 1744; but upon the paſſing of this law, many of them quitted the trade entirely, and left it to the new adventurers; ſo that but few of them

conti-

continue it to this day, as I have been credibly informed. The ſucceeding merchants will not venture large ſums; nor, if they can avoid it, will they expoſe themſelves to wait eternally for returns, or let their money lie in the precarious hands of drapers in Turkey, under great difficulties. Beſides theſe conſiderations, others ſhould have occurred; for inſtance, granting that any of the merchants at the ſea-port towns could find cloth and other commodities fit to ſhip for Turkey, even cheaper than in London, whether they could dreſs, dye, and prepare their cloth for that market? But facts ſpeak for themſelves; what has this mighty extenſion of navigation and commerce produced? For theſe twenty-ſix years paſt the trade has been carried on by four or five ſmall ſhips annually, inſtead of two or three large ones; conſequently

ſequently there has been no increaſe of ſeamen. For theſe ſixteen years paſt we have had two new members of the Turkey company, one from Briſtol and the other from Halifax, who, as far as I have heard, never ſent a ſingle bale of cloth to Turkey.

The other regulation ſo fatal to the Turkey trade, which had taken its riſe from this and the former, was indeed founded on a true public ſpirit, and certainly was in no reſpect dictated by private and intereſted views. A humane concern for the ſafety of his fellow-creatures ſuggeſted to a perſon of approved experience and ability this obvious truth, that as the Levant company was by that law become more diffuſed, looſe, and extended, both with regard to navigation and traders, it muſt be the more difficult to obſerve ſuch ſalutary regulations as the old merchants had made, for ſtopping

ping the progreſs of that fatal diſeaſe, the plague, which ſo often prevails in Turkey. Since the firſt eſtabliſhment of their charter that dreadful malady had never been introduced into England, either by them or their merchandize.

The new form that charter was thrown into required new precautions: hence the wiſe citizen, above-mentioned, formed a reſolution to propoſe to parliament the eſtabliſhing good, ſecure, and proper quarantines, with Lazarettos and other conveniences for the accommodation of poor ſeamen, that the people of England might be as ſecure as the French, Venetians, and Tuſcans, and receive even infected ſhips into their harbours, without any danger of ſpreading the contagion as it is cuſtomary with theſe people.

As the other regulation we mentioned had been long premeditated, before it was propoſed to the houſe of Commons,

mons, his reflections upon it were ſudden and undigeſted; he could not, therefore, deviſe the proper means, or find proper places and funds that ſeſſion of parliament to bring his great and important eſtabliſhment immediately to bear. He was, however, too ſenſible of the greatneſs of the danger not to think of providing, without delay, ſome effectual temporary remedy.

Hence he propoſed a ſummary law to oblige all Engliſh ſhips from Turkey to perform quarentine either at Malta or Leghorn, and to forbid all infected ſhips from approaching our coaſts under the moſt ſevere penalties, nor to ſuffer any to be admitted upon any conditions with a foul bill of health.

The misfortune of the Levant trade has been, that this law has

continued, though the great plan, to which it was preparatory, has never been carried into execution. The excellent projector died, and his plan with him.

Hence arose double mischief to the Levant trade; property became precarious by one law, and was rendered more so and put out of the power of the trader by another. There seldom passes a year in Turkey in which the plague does not spread its contagion to some sea-port town in that country, or, at least, without there being some suspicion of it. Those scourges that are inflicted upon us by Providence require our submission and resignation; but the worst is, we may be certain that, even when Providence spares us, cases of infection will often be forged and invented by our crafty rivals in commerce.

It is a generally received opinion, that the Turkey company ſubſiſts by an excluſive charter for the importation of all the products of Turkey to England, which is not the caſe; for their article of excluſion extends merely to ſilk and mohair yarn: all other articles, as cotton, box-wood, goat's wool, fruit, drugs, &c. are imported by or from Leghorn, or other parts of Italy. When therefore any Engliſh ſhips come to take in their cargoes, foreign merchants, Italians, Jews, and Armenians, immediately enter into a combination, and lay their heads together to diſcover ſome plague caſes; theſe they ſuggeſt to the foreign conſuls, who inſtantly declare them as ſuch, and ſend off the ſhips with foul bills of health. Theſe merchants have, perhaps, at that very time large cargoes of cotton, goat's wool, fruit, and drugs, ſhip-

ped and ready to ſail on foreign bottoms * for Leghorn, to furniſh our markets; whilſt our ſhips, which cannot obtain a clean bill of health from our conſul, are obliged to put up with their diſappointment and expence, and return quite empty: in the mean time, our induſtrious merchant at home is liable to be reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, for want of his returns from Turkey.

Without a circulation of ſuch returns no cloth can be exported to Turkey; the ſupply once neglected, the trade ſtagnates of courſe. The French, convinced of this truth, ſuffered all foreigners to export their cloth to Turkey during the laſt war; they found their own navigation ſo impeded, that they

* The Dutch admit on foul bills of health, though their quarentine is worſe regulated than ours.

could

could not furniſh the ſupply themſelves, except at a great riſk and expence; this inhanced the price of their cloth, prevented the drapers from purchaſing, and conſequently ſtopped the currency: but, no ſooner was the peace concluded, than they reſumed their former maxims of excluding foreigners.

SECT. IV.

Eſtimate of the Decreaſe of our Trade to Turkey.

THOUGH the eſtimate of the decreaſe of our trade to Turkey has been chiefly taken from Conſtantinople, it would be wrong to conclude from thence, that it has been in a more flouriſhing condition in other parts. Conſtantinople is, indeed, a ſure barometer to form a judgment by, as that market ſupplies the Aleppo trade with ready money, to help off the barter of our cloth for ſilk, and contributes chiefly to purchaſe mohair, yarn, cotton, and other commodities at Smyrna.

The two other chief marts of our trade, Smyrna and Aleppo, muſt therefore follow Conſtantinople of courſe, and are not in a better ſtate: it muſt, indeed,

indeed, be acknowledged that thoſe cities may aſſign additional cauſes for the decline of their commerce, as that of the intercourſe with * Perſia having been diſcontinued for many years, no caravans appearing at either place from that kingdom with Sherbaffe or Ardaſet ſilks to take off our cloth in barter; as likewiſe, that

* Another late grievance which has affected the Turkey trade, in its only eſſential part, has been the quantity of cloth ſent by the Eaſt-India Company, to Baſſora in the Perſian Gulph: this cloth is ſold there to Armenians and others, who carry it by caravans to the coaſt of Syria, and ſell it at a cheaper rate than the Levant-company can either ſell, or barter it for ſilk, which is their principal return. We may indeed conſider this as a mere temporary evil, which cannot long ſubſiſt; for the cheap price, with the accumulated bad debts which the Eaſt-India Company muſt contract, will ſoon make them feel, if corporated bodies will or can feel like private men, that they are trading at a heavy loſs. And if they will attend to the vaſt loſſes they have undergone at Bagdat and Baſſora for forty years paſt, they will, I dare ſay, be convinced they have of late been drawn into that trade merely for the advantage and emolument of ſome of their ſervants.

Aleppo being more diſtant, is more expoſed to the extortions and irregularities of that government; whence the property of thoſe Turkiſh ſubjects, with whom our nation has dealings, and whom we alſo employ, is more precarious. But theſe grievances they have in common with all other Chriſtian nations eſtabliſhed in that country, and muſt be equally affected by them. The true cauſes of the decline of their trade are the ſame by which that of Conſtantinople has ſuffered, as will evidently appear upon tracing their imports from the æra of the regulations made at home, particularly from that of the year 1754 *.

* The medium imports of cloth in Conſtantinople diſtinguiſhed by a period of 10 years from 1729 to 1768, incluſive.

	Bales.	Medium com. ann.
From 1729 to 1738, incluſive,	5742	574
From 1739 to 1748, ditto,	2363	236
From 1749 to 1758, ditto,	2093	209
From 1759 to 1768, ditto,	873	87

imports

The merchants at home and the factors in Turkey, diſtreſſed by the perplexing difficulties they had to ſtruggle with from the new regulations, were obliged to have recourſe to every expedient they could think of to ſupport this almoſt expiring commerce.

The quality of the cloth, therefore, grew worſe and worſe every day. The pieces in the bale often proved infe-

Imports into Conſtantinople for 15 years preceding the firſt regulation in 1744, and for 15 years after; which takes in 4 years after the ſecond regulation.

	Bales.	Medium. com. ann.
From 1729 to 1743, incluſive, -	7407	494
From 1744 to 1758, ditto, -	2791	185

Imports from the firſt moſt viſible decline of our trade in 1739, until 1768, diſtinguiſhing every five years.

From 1739 to 1744, firſt opening the navigation, - -	1665	333
From 1744 to 1748, - -	698.	139
From 1749 to 1753, five years before the ſecond regulation in 1754, - - -	1335	267
From 1754 to 1758, - -	758	151
From 1759 to 1763, - -	345	69
From 1764 to 1768, - -	528	105

Imports

rior to the patterns: the wool was coarſe and ill-ſpun; the woof looſe, by immoderate ſtretching on the tenters, with a long nap, and bad colours; and, what was ſtill worſe, would not bear the taylor's proof. When ſtrict œconomy muſt be uſed, the beſt commodities cannot be purchaſed: they

Imports of cloth to Smyrna for 21 years, diſtinguiſhing every 7 years from thoſe preceding 1754, and after to 1768.

	Bales.		Bales.
1748	550	1755	328
1749	497	1756	119
1750	846	1757	412
1751	212	1758	187
1752	279	1759	...
1753	435	1760	84
1754	560	1761	82
	3379 Medium 482.		1212 Medium 173.

1762	169
1763	54
1764	105
1765	150
1766	178
1767	38
1768	158
	852 Medium 122.

Imports

bought in England, perhaps, with a view of ſelling very cheap in Turkey; and by that bait, bringing their cloth to a currency. The reſult, however, was, that credits were enormouſly extended at Conſtantinople to the drapers, with a view of tempting them to buy; much ready money, or ready money com-

Imports of cloth into Aleppo for 21 years, diſtinguiſhing every 7 years from the firſt 7 before 1754, the ſecond regulation.

	Bales.		Bales.
1748	903	1762	425
1749	1150	1763	359
1750	1832	1764	691
1751	222	1765	421
1752	716	1766	519
1753	1093	1767	234
1754	624	1768	285
	6540 Med. 934.		2934 Med. about 419.
1755	1600		
1756	953		
1757	399		
1758	724		
1759	...		
1760	442		
1761	438		
	4556 Med. about 651.		

modities,

modities, were given in barter with their cloth at Smyrna and Aleppo; and when the money was demanded of the drapers at Conſtantinople, after eighteen months or two year's credit, they have immediately produced the cloth, appealed to the quality, urged the impoſſibility of ſales, and offered to return it as payment: the worſt of it is, that, according to Turkiſh juſtice, ſuch a tender is not only admiſſible but legal, and if the draper ſhould perſiſt to give it, the factor is obliged to take it.

SECT. V.

State of the French trade to Turkey, with an account of their manufactures.

THUS have we laid before the reader the true cauſes of the decline of our Levant, or Turkey trade. Let us now try whether after having

pointed

pointed out the evil, it may not be poſſible to find ſome remedy to it. The preſent is not one of thoſe deſperate caſes in which the phyſician deſpairs of his patient, and declares it out of his power to do any thing for his relief; it is one of thoſe in which, though the health cannot be entirely reſtored by the power of phyſic, it may be ſo far repaired as to give the patient great eaſe, and make him live with much more ſatisfaction than he had done for ſeveral years before.

The French cloth trade has increaſed conſiderably by the decline of ours: the Dutch have alſo had their ſhare. The former have not only uſed the moſt ſtrict œconomy, but their government and chamber of commerce have given a conſtant attention to the leaſt impediment their Turkey commerce ſuffered, either in France or in the Levant, and have formed a code of regulations

gulations which has greatly contributed to its proſperity. We ſhall now therefore make ſome general ſtrictures upon the French trade, and lay before the reader an abſtract of theſe regulations, as a baſis on which a ſuperſtructure may hereafter be erected.

It is well known, that before the adminiſtration of the celebrated Colbert, the French ſcarce knew the value of manufactures or of trade. The year 1663 may be conſidered as the epocha of their origin in France. The firſt aim of that great miniſter was to engage the king to give them proper protection and encouragement. When he turned his thoughts to the cloth manufacture, which had been transferred by the Flemmings to Holland, he invited over Van Robais, one of the ableſt manufacturers of his time, to ſettle at Abbeville, and carry on buſineſs there. This man received all poſſible encou-

rage-

ragement; every condition he required was granted him; not only large ſums were aſſigned him as a capital, but the king's bounty flowed in upon him on every ſide. Hands abounded for the work; and that he might be enabled to encourage artificers, two thouſand livres, a ſum much more conſiderable at that time than at preſent, were allowed him for every new loom he erected. So ſucceſsful was he at his firſt ſetting out, that many were in a ſhort time initiated in the whole art of manufacturing; but the ableſt of theſe were choſen to ſettle in various parts of the kingdom, and in the cheapeſt provinces: hence they were ſent to reſide in Languedoc, and enjoyed not only equivalent emoluments from the king, with thoſe in Picardy, but many additional ones, as habitations, &c. The circumſtance of theſe eſtabliſhments being in the neighbourhood

bourhood of ſo conſiderable a trading town as Marſeilles, engaged the merchants there to put the manufacturers upon endeavouring to imitate our cloth for the Levant trade; they procured patterns, obtained additional advantages from the court, and artfully adopted the names of the ſeveral ſpecies of Engliſh cloth known in Turkey, as *Londras*, *Londrines*, *Niſmes*. The capitals were ſmall, and the beginnings ſlow in proportion; but government, determined on ſucceſs, engaged many monied men to join in the undertaking. The hope of gain conſpired with their endeavours, and gave riſe to a daily encreaſe of that commerce.

Their own ſecurity was the point they had chiefly a view to in their regulations. They had heard of the conſtant ravages occaſioned in Turkey by the plague, as likewiſe of the uncer-

tainty

tainty of the time and manner of the appearance of that diſorder, or how it was or could be communicated. They therefore began by eſtabliſhing a proper quarentine and lazaretto at Marſeilles, their principal mart for the Turkey trade; theſe they thought would prove effectual for guarding againſt that evil. The firſt expence was moderate, in proportion to their trade, and became the more ſo, as ſince their commencing it they had not had the leaſt grounds of ſuſpicion from that diſtemper. But in the year 1720, the contagion fatally crept into that city, and made terrible ravages for ſome time. This event obliged them to redouble their expences and their vigilance; ſo that they have at laſt brought their quarentine to ſuch ſecurity and perfection, that they even admit infected ſhips, without being under any apprehenſions of

ſuffering by the plague: hence their trade is never interrupted. The next precaution to be taken was to ſecure the profits and advantages of that branch of commerce entirely to themſelves; none therefore but Frenchmen, and the king's ſubjects, are allowed to trade directly to or from Turkey; all manufactures and merchandize ſhipped from France, and all the products of Turkey, by way of returns, muſt belong to them. If any Turkiſh goods or merchandize are ſhipped from any indirect ports of Europe to France, they pay a duty of 20 *per cent. ad valorem*, which amounts to a prohibition.

From theſe precautions they proceeded to others, without which the very vitals of trade muſt be affected; their grand and principal care was the goodneſs and quality of their cloth.

The fineneſs and thinneſs of their manufactures ariſes in a great meaſure, if not

not totally, from the quality of their wool, which is either all Spaniſh or Barbary, or perhaps a mixture of theſe, with ſome of their own, about Narbonne, or ſuch other ſorts as they find cheaper and at hand. The lightneſs of their cloth is ſurpriſing; that of a piece they ſold formerly for 2 ½ dollars the pike, not exceeding 25 pounds, and that of their preſent cloth ſold at 1 ½ dollar at Aleppo, being about 17 ½ pounds.

Every lock of wool is carefully inſpected before and after it is combed and ſpun, that the goodneſs may be found to anſwer the ſtandard in working it. They with equal care and exactneſs examine the length, breadth, and dye of each piece, and whether the patterns exactly coreſpond. The ſevereſt penalties are inflicted on the inſpector, if he happens to prove remiſs in doing his duty, and on the

manufacturers, when guilty of any fraud or neglect in their work.

The ſame precaution is repeated in Turkey; the cloth is examined with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. In proportion as the French trade increaſed, the eaſy intercourſe between Turkey and Marſeilles encouraged numbers of French ſubjects to ſettle at every place of trade. The numbers eſtabliſhed made buſineſs paſs into ſo many hands, that few could live and return to their mother-country with money ſufficient to form a baſis for induſtry, or carry on a future commerce from thence with ſucceſs; neither could ſalutary regulations take place in that extenſive empire, till that number was limited. Various abuſes in living, highly offenſive to the Turks, were introduced among them: hence many real or pretended grievances were complained of at the Porte; large

expences

expences there became neceſſary, which, with ſums previouſly given to the provincial governors, contributed to ruin the factors.

Cloth I have obſerved had been a ready money commodity, but was now reduced to long credit. Conſiderable capitals became the more neceſſary to carry on that trade, which the French had not; theſe credits encouraged drapers to buy, and to become bankrupts; delays of returns from Turkey had the ſame effect in France, ſo that it was found neceſſary to apply ſome immediate remedy, in order to prevent the French trade from being totally ruined.

Monſ. de Villeneuf, who was then their ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, perceiving that the evil was gaining ground every day, exerted the utmoſt efforts of his genius and induſtry to ſtop its courſe, to find out the proper

remedy, and, to the beſt of his power, ſettle that commerce upon a ſecure and ſolid baſis. His endeavours were ſeconded by the court and chamber of commerce.

SECT. VI.

Regulations by which the French trade to Turkey was reſtored from a ſtate of decline, to its preſent proſperity.

HENCE the following laws were eſtabliſhed: That the number of French houſes at Conſtantinople ſhould not exceed twelve: that every houſe, and each partner belonging to it, ſhould be admitted by a certificate of permiſſion from the miniſter of the marine in France: that French ſubjects ſhould not remain in ſuch a ſettlement in Turkey above ten years, except on account of ſome uncommon merit,

merit, or an extraordinary permiſſion; at the expiration of that term they were poſitively to return to France, or to be forcibly ſent off by the ambaſſador.

In order to promote frugality, and the more eaſily to make ſuch a fortune as might be improved by their induſtry in France, they were not allowed to marry in Turkey. Women in that country are very apt to run men into exceſſive expences, and tho' born of foreign parents, thy are by education and habit obſtinately attached to the Oriental manners and cuſtoms; nor can they quit them without the utmoſt reluctance. Hence they find it an eaſy matter to alienate a huſband from his native country. Add to this, that it is very doubtful whether the Turkiſh government has not a right to lay a claim of ſubjection to all born within the empire: and though there is no example of their having uſed

that claim, even to the third and fourth generation of Franks ſettled among them, yet as there is no ſecurity from capitulations, Franks are, in ſuch a caſe, at the mercy of a grand Vizir's caprice, which has been but too often exerted, when they have intermarried with women who were *Raias*, or ſubjects of the grand Seignor.

The purchaſe of real eſtates as lands, houſes, &c. is ſtrictly forbid their very dragomans, or interpreters. Such purchaſes were made by them formerly, and many ill conſequences of falſe claims and law-ſuits have ariſen from thence. There is nothing to authoriſe ſuch purchaſes in the capitulations; ſo that you muſt truſt to the good faith of a Turkiſh ſubject, and buy in his name. The paſſion for purchaſing ſeems notwithſtanding infectious or incorrigible; no man thinks himſelf conſiderable, till he has

acquired

acquired ſuch poſſeſſions; it is as violent, and almoſt as deſtructive as the paſſion for building was at Athens, which roſe to ſuch a height that it became proverbial, and they wiſhed their greateſt enemy might be ſeized with it.

The French ſubjects are not permitted to keep horſes or carriages.

Theſe regulations, however neceſſary, were but introductory to a more important one, which required greater caution and conſideration, I mean that of ſecuring the nation from the bankruptcy of drapers, occaſioned by long credits. The attempt was hazardous, but they reſolved to riſk their whole trade, or ſucceed.

An officer was appointed to keep an exact account of all the cloth received by every one of the twelve houſes, and a price was fixed upon each bale according to the quality. No one

one was permitted to ſell under that price; two different diviſions of ſales were appointed for the year; one of theſe was called the leſſer diviſion, the other the greater. At the former, each houſe was reſtrained from ſelling above a tenth part of the ſtock laid up in the magazine. At the latter, which was on the feaſt of Ramazan, when the Turks in general provide themſelves with new cloaths, each houſe was at liberty to ſell a fourth part of that ſtock.

A liſt of the names of all the drapers was made out. A ſtrict inquiry into their expences and manner of living was ſet on foot, and as juſt an eſtimate as poſſible was taken of their wealth and methods of carrying on trade. Theſe were divided into different claſſes, from the moſt opulent to the poor and induſtrious traders. The credit to be given to each claſs

was

was fixed from twenty, ten, or five, to one bale of cloth.

A general rule was then laid down, that full payment of all ſales ſhould be made within the ſpace of ſeventy-five days; and whoever exceeded that term ſhould pay ten per cent. the year intereſt, for any part undiſcharged.

This rule, however, was not found ſufficient alone, as credit with intereſt might continue: it was therefore reſolved that a cheſt or caſh of ſecurity ſhould be eſtabliſhed, in which every buyer was to depoſit ten aſpers for each pike of cloth he bought; and if any of them ſhould fail, the difference of this compoſition was to be made good to the French factor out of that common ſtock. In caſe there happened no bankruptcies amongſt them, whatever might be the ſurplus of that caſh, was, after four years, diſtributed among ſuch as had depoſited.

The drapers, after a ſhort time, became refractory, and refuſed to comply with ſo oppreſſive a meaſure; the rich found it ruinous to themſelves, as it ſerved for an encouragement to increaſe the number of buyers upon credit. This could not but hurt them greatly, they therefore came to a reſolution not to purchaſe upon theſe terms; the French were then obliged to change the order of this ſecurity, and to remove it from the drapers to themſelves. They reduced the depoſit money to ſix aſpers the pike on all the cloth they ſold, which they deducted as factors from their principal account of ſales; and, according as the ſum of that caſh was greater or leſs, after deduction for loſs by bankruptcies, they made from time to time a proportionable diſtribution to thoſe principals.

There was, during many years, a profit of from 12 to 15 per cent. made on French cloth, in returning the produce in money or bills of exchange. The merchants in France, who had not ſufficient capitals to wait ſuch returns, often, upon the advice of ſales, drew bills of exchange, payable at a ſhort date. This method of proceeding occaſioned the factors great perplexity; they were under a neceſſity of raiſing money to pay the bills at any rate, for which they paid not leſs than 10, 11, and even 12 per cent.

In order to throw off this burthen, they, with the approbation of the court and chamber of commerce at Marſeilles, incorporated themſelves into one body. The whole ſociety was reſponſible for each individual, and theſe for each other. On this foundation the twelve houſes at Conſtantinople, as a body, took up any ſum at any time not leſs than

than 6000 dollars, the intereſt not to exceed 8 in the hundred.

This caiſſe or bank they called the *Caiſſe d'Emprunt*, or for loans, and conſtituted the other of ſecurity, as a collateral one to the lenders.

When any of their factors were unprovided with money, or had bills ſuddenly drawn upon them, they were ſure to find an immediate ſupply from this fund, on depoſiting the draper's obligations and notes, and on paying 10 per cent. intereſt till they had replaced the whole.

The trade of Conſtantinople is univerſally carried on by Jews; ſupported and countenanced by the government, they have uſurped a ſort of ſovereign power, and claim it as their excluſive right to be the only brokers to the Frank nations: beſides, as every diſpute between Jew and Jew is, by a law eſtabliſhed amongſt them, cognizable

nizable by their own Jewiſh judge or Grand Rabbin, no redreſs can be expected in their frauds, as it is only from one Jew to another that ſuch frauds are diſcoverable. Even when they are detected in the moſt enormous villainy, no proof can be obtained to bring them before a Turkiſh tribunal; becauſe one Jew will not give evidence againſt another in thoſe courts. This is not all; if for fraud or knavery they happen to be diſcharged the ſervice of a Frank merchant, to whom they were brokers, thoſe who ſucceed them, or ſuch as do buſineſs in that houſe, muſt account with them for a ſhare of their profits, as if they were ſtill employed there. Theſe are the immutable and oppreſſive laws of the Hebrew race in Turkey; and all the credit and power of Chriſtian miniſters, ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in that empire, could neither

alter

alter or ſuppreſs them. Many attempts have been made to effect this, but all to no purpoſe.

About twenty years ago the French, upon the diſcovery of ſeveral notorious frauds of their Jew brokers, to the ruin of their maſters, combined with the other European nations, to make an effort to drive them out of their ſervice. This laſt attempt, however, proved as unſucceſsful as all the former; the French, thereupon, had recourſe to another expedient for their ſecurity, this was to oblige their Jew-brokers to depoſit a certain ſum for every bale of cloth they ſold for them, out of which accumulated ſum any fraud or failure committed by any of their brethren, was to be compenſated to their employers.

The French trade has been highly promoted and invigorated by theſe regulations

gulations; and it is in a great meaſure owing to them that it has attained to its preſent flouriſhing ſtate.

SECT. VII.

Propoſal for adopting ſome of the French regulations, eſpecially with regard to the quality of the cloth.

DESPOTIC power ſets government in motion, in many circumſtances, by one ſingle ſpring: an abuſe, when known is immediately redreſſed, the work is ſoon done: when ſuch a procedure tends to the good of the governed, they forget every bad conſequence, which may reſult from the arbitrary exactions of capricious will.

The motions in the conſtitution of a free ſtate, are of a more compli-

cated nature; many ſprings muſt be ſet a going, numbers of opinions and various intereſts reconciled; much time is required; a known abuſe takes root, and is paſt redreſs before they come to a ſingle reſolution. Many of the French regulations in Turkey would be conſidered by Engliſhmen as oppreſſive; conſequently, of whatever importance the Turkey trade might be to the nation, if an individual ſhould clamour, his noiſe would be ſufficient to ſubvert and totally deſtroy it.

We ſhall, therefore, make it our chief ſtudy to find how far our commerce may be recoverable by induſtry or laws, and in what degree ſome of the French regulations may be adopted, conſiſtently with our conſtitution.

As one of the firſt cauſes of the decay of our Levant trade was ſaid to be the ſuperior quality of the French cloth to the

the Engliſh, this ſhould, of courſe, be our firſt conſideration.

Attempts have been made in England to imitate the French cloth from large patterns, and from that of the yarn; but the fineneſs of the materials, and of the ſpinning, rendered them abortive. Some, however, has been ſent to Turkey of a quality not much inferior, but the price was ſo enormous that all the drapers were diſcouraged from buying it. I have been told that it could not be ſold for leſs than ten-pence the pike above the French cloth, which, ſuppoſing the price to be two dollars and a half, would be near 14 per cent. If, however, we could once attain to the quality, there might be ſome hopes of our being able to reduce the price. Whether the eſſay made in Turkey was manufactured of Spaniſh wool I know not; but I am almoſt ſure we may import Spaniſh, or

Eſtremadura, or Barbary wool, as cheap as the French can in Languedoc: perhaps, indeed, it does not paſs to the French manufacturer through ſo many hands as ours, ſuch as the merchant, the Blackwell-hall factor, &c.; nor does their cloth make a like revolution to be exported. I fear the difference in price of the .14 per cent. ariſes from that cauſe. An opulent clothier who ſhould import his own wool, might, very likely, be able to find that difference.

But might not clothiers reduce the quantity of wool in a piece of cloth, to the weight of the French piece? And if the materials are as fine or the ſame as the French, fingers or inſtruments might be found to reduce the yarn to their fineneſs.

Such difficulties as theſe are far from being unſurmountable by induſ-

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try; repeated efforts will make the moſt perfect improvements.

Recourſe might be had to many expedients to aſſiſt the induſtrious; and though the French take particular care to keep their fabrics at Carcaſſonne ſecret, and ſuffer no ſtranger to approach them, we could, doubtleſs, by the ſame means which firſt introduced this manufacture, contrive to bring to perfection what requires only an imitation.

We are not, however, entirely tied down to the French quality of cloth; if we could but recover the ancient ſtandard of our own, exported forty years ago, and even within theſe twenty years, we might have great hopes of ſucceſs: a few bales were at that time ſent to Conſtantinople, and the drapers would have engaged to buy 300 bales a year of the ſame quality.

The quality of cloth manufactured twenty years ago in Worceſterſhire, and Gloceſterſhire, cannot be ſo totally forgotten as not to be recoverable: it muſt, indeed be acknowledged that either the progreſs of luxury, or the increaſe of the value of labour, has rendered their cloth much dearer ſince that time. But if workmen or manufacturers have quitted theſe for cheaper counties, and if theſe counties continue ſtill to be too dear, why not remove further? If the North of England, or Wales will not enable us to reduce the price of our manufacture for foreign exportation, let us go further north or weſt, ſome corner may ſurely be found wherein we may ſupplant our rivals. Are we leſs loaded with taxes, and the ſeveral expences which attend living in towns, than our neighbours the Dutch? Before 1754 they did not

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above 20 or 25 bales of cloth a year at Conſtantinople; they now ſell above 100, and their cloth-trade is eſtimated at Smyrna from 60 to 70,000 l. annually. So that they have found means to increaſe that trade immenſely upon our decline.

Oppoſed in this branch of commerce by ſo many rivals, muſt not an Engliſh breaſt glow with the utmoſt ardour of emulation? If a government obſtructed in its proceedings by the complicated ſprings, and confined by the happy limitations in favour of liberty, cannot lay the ſame reſtraints as deſpotiſm; let every private perſon, let every individual unite his efforts to promote the happineſs of the community of which he is a member. Let the manufacturing provinces, let every Engliſh artificer learn to encourage, without murmuring, their fellow-ſubjects of neighbouring kingdoms. Can

ſelfiſh jealouſy ſo darken the minds of Engliſhmen, as to make them deprive the Scotch and Iriſh of an advantage, which by being thrown into the hands of our rivals, becomes the main ſupport of their political ſtrength and importance?

Scotland is, doubtleſs, as capable of furniſhing labour and induſtry as cheap for the cloth manufacture, as any part of France; and much more ſo than Holland. The fact can be demonſtrated in Ireland; for the French, who ſold their camlets at Liſbon 10 or 15 per cent. cheaper than the Engliſh, and thereby drove them out of that branch, are not able to vie with the Iriſh, who with their camlets, which they clandeſtinely convey to that market, underſell the French as much as the latter can the Engliſh. If therefore the aſſiſtance of Engliſh workmen ſhould be found neceſſary for the cloth manufac-

ture

ture in thoſe kingdoms, let them be ſupplied with ſuch. When once they are initiated in the buſineſs, they will be able to proceed of themſelves.

If in the laſt extremity no other means can be found, let thoſe of our own counties in which the cloth manufacture is eſtabliſhed and flouriſhes, contribute as they do in France, towards reducing the price of labour for cloth manufactures on the old ſtandard for Turkey.

A ſtandard has been formed by our ſtatutes for the weight, length, and breadth of our cloth; additional laws might enforce theſe under ſevere penalties, and a proper inſpection be eſtabliſhed for every branch of that manufacture, and for every ſpecies fit for exportation to foreign markets.

An annual report ſhould likewiſe be made to a committee of parliament, concerning the manner in which the inſpectors have acquitted themſelves, and the ſtate of the fabrick.

Bad as the cloth now ſhipped for Turkey may be, if other aids to the trade which we ſhall mention, can be conſiſtently given, it may be greatly retrieved, if not totally reſtored to its former flouriſhing eſtate.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Thoughts on reſtoring the excluſive charter.

CHanges and alterations in commerce are of ſo dangerous and pernicious a nature, that I would by no means propoſe new modelling the Levant company, or throwing it into a form more analogous to its firſt origin. I ſhall therefore only obſerve what ſhould have been done, on the ſeveral changes it has undergone, and what may yet be done.

Commercial ſocieties incorporated and united by charter, operate on the privileges granted them, conform their bye-laws to thoſe privileges, and form a complete, uniform ſyſtem; the whole therefore is connected with, and depends upon the parts. When a reformation is attempted, if the connection

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is broken by the mutation of one part, the whole runs the riſk of being deſtroyed or greatly hurt.

When the parliament therefore reſolved on a change in part of the Levant company's charter and regulations, they ſhould have conſidered thoroughly the firſt foundation of the charter itſelf, determined on a renewal, and conformed to ſuch grants as they thought ſuitable to the change intended, by which their bye-laws, which wanted a reform, might be properly regulated.

At the time that the merchants, who were citizens of London, obtained that charter, though noblemen's and gentlemen's ſons were admitted into their ſociety, they paid a valuable conſideration, and ſubjected themſelves to a conſtant expence of near 11,000 l. *per annum*, to be paid out of their own pockets, or out of a precarious trade, whether

whether they were gainers or the contrary; that ſum, and under the Turkiſh government much more, ſometimes, had been levied on their property. What had been given at the obtaining of the charter, was not the point to be conſidered according to ſtrict law, tho' perhaps it was in equity; * but when what had been granted to the ſociety united by charter, was given equally to others, and extended to the whole people of England, the holders had ſome right to a compenſation, or, at leaſt, that the public ſhould take the whole of the charge, and the uncertain actions and claims, which the avarice and injuſtice of Turkiſh government might expoſe them to.

* In the war commenced in 1744, the old members of the Turkey company, paid for depredations by privateers with Minorca or Gibraltar commiſſions upwards of 10,000l.

This conſideration, though obvious on the opening of the trade, never occurred, not even during its decline. However motives of juſtice and right have ſince influenced the adminiſtration to give a helping hand in parliament to ſave the remains of that trade, by allowing the company about one half of their fixed expence. If they had not taken this ſtep, it is now demonſtrable the merchants muſt have totally abandoned it, for even with that help they continue to be in debt. Beſides theſe conſiderations, there was another more manifeſt one to be attended to. The old charter, as it then ſtood, was not totally excluſive, but the whole burthen of expence was to ariſe from two articles only, ſilk and mohair-yarn, out of a great number of the products of Turkey; as for example, cotton, which is almoſt as important an article as either of

of the other two, goats wool, fruit, and drugs, all which may be imported from Italy. Hence the Dutch, Italians, Jews, and Armenians, ſupply us with theſe commodities; and, as I have obſerved already, prevent us, ſince the quarantine act, from importing almoſt any of them from Turkey.

It has indeed been alledged, that a company which has the whole power of trade in its own hands, may direct and confine its ſeveral articles, whether of import or export, to its own peculiar advantage; and that of conſequence the national intereſt may moſt eſſentially ſuffer where manufactures are concerned; and that trade ſhould be free and unconſtrained; above all, that there ſhould be no obſtructions to a ſuperabundant ſupply of all firſt materials for manufactures.

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This doctrine was ſpecious at the time of the changes in the Levant company, but was afterwards found to be groundleſs; for as every man was at liberty to import as he thought moſt for his intereſt; and cottons in particular are a commodity of ſure ſale, and which veſſels of burthen, ſuch as the annual ſhips, required to fill up, the other articles of commerce were never ſufficient, inſomuch that cotton and fruit were generally the baſis of the cargo.

However even admitting the ſupply to have been ſtagnated, that reaſon ceaſed in part on the opening of the navigation; and totally, when every man in the kingdom might purchaſe his admittance into the company, and of conſequence be free to trade, upon paying 20 l. And are not the whole body of merchants of England, and the cotton manufacturers able to ſup-

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ply the kingdom and themſelves, as abundantly, and at as cheap a rate as foreigners? It appears, indeed, to be ſelf-evident, that the nation muſt be loſers, and pay for the Turkey commodities dearer by any foreign indirect importation, than by a direct; freight from Turkey and Leghorn, charges of landing and re-ſhipping, muſt be found on the ſale, and muſt of conſequence fall heavy on the conſumer in England.

The Britiſh merchant, or cotton manufacturer, who imports cottons, muſt purchaſe chiefly with the produce of our own woollen manufactures, or by bartering them againſt cotton; they cannot purchaſe with bullion, money, or bills of exchange; they are under oaths and penalties not to tranſgreſs; and every factor keeps ſo watchful an eye upon all his brethren, that the

leaſt fraud is ſure of being immediately detected.

Foreigners purchaſe with money, or the produce of foreign commodities; they likewiſe ſhip cotton, goat's-wool, fruit, and drugs on foreign bottoms to any part in Italy, from thence re-ſhip them to England, and pay themſelves with a conſiderable advantage.

Let us now conſider the immenſe diſadvantage and real loſs, which muſt reſult from ſuch a trade to the nation. We ſhall begin with the article of cottons: ſome compute the annual exportation to Leghorn for our market at 10,000 ſacks, others at 8000. If we admit the latter, which ſeems to come neareſt to the truth, and eſtimate the ſack at 90 dollars, the firſt coſt in Turkey would amount to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, or 90,000 l.

90,000 l. ſterling; if we rate the profit at 20 per. cent. it would be 18,000 l. carried out of the nation in ſpecie. But if we add the loſs of the cloth, or Britiſh commodities, with which the Engliſh merchant muſt purchaſe theſe cottons, Levant company's duties, commiſſion to the Engliſh factor, and difference of navigation, which the foreigners gain, the whole real loſs on cottons alone might amount to 120,000 l. nay, to 150,000 l. ſterling a year, beſides the invaluable loſs of induſtry in our woollen manufactures, or to the hands employed in ſhipping other commodities for that purchaſe.

Goats wool, for the making of hats, has been likewiſe an article of return of great value, and proportionably as ruinous to England as that of cottons. For it is a notorious fact that many Greeks and Armenians, now in

Turkey, prepare that commodity for our ſupply, and ſhip it to Leghorn, though they were formerly employed as day-labourers by our factors.

Fruit, ſuch as raiſins and figs, are the only proper flooring * for our ſhips from Turkey; the loſs of this article carries with it the ſame ill conſequences as the others, with an additional real detriment to our navigation.

This vaſt loſs can by no means be compenſated by the profit of two or three Engliſh houſes at Leghorn, which now ſhare in that trade, nor can the payment of the 20 l. to render them free of the Levant company, hurt them.

The circumſtance of ſhips being admitted on clean or foul bills of health, would not affect the trade as much on

* The flooring is that part of the cargo which is immediately ſtowed upon the ballaſt.

an exclusive charter, as the law does at present. The pretence of a plague would no longer have any existence on motives of mere interest; and English navigation would be secure from receiving any farther obstruction from artifice and tricking. We may even presume, on good grounds, that such an exclusive charter would not only oblige the Turkish dealers to supply themselves with our manufactures, but likewise enable the consumers in England to procure Turkish commodities at a much cheaper rate. For when the dealers in cotton, fruit, goats wool, &c. find no purchasers, or so very few of any other nation, that three quarters of their stock remain upon hand, they must of necessity recur to our factors for a sale, and barter for English cloth or other goods, at such a price as a command of the market will oblige them: it will then

even become the chief buſineſs of the Turkiſh dealers, to ſearch every corner of the empire for the ſale and conſumption of Engliſh cloth, however bad the quality of it may be; ſo that we may ſee not only a conſiderable extenſion of commerce, but our rivals outdone by means of the Turkiſh ſubjects.

Thus we may from facts, and ſtrong preſumptive arguments, clearly evince the neceſſity and importance of granting the Levant company a full and excluſive charter for importing every commodity, the growth, manufacture, or produce of Turkey; or elſe of adopting part of the French policy, by laying a duty of 20 l. per cent. on the value of all ſuch importations from any indirect port whatſoever.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Inconveniences of the quarantine act, with general reflections on the plague in the Levant.

THOUGH it be evident that by bringing our cloth to a ſtandard, or in ſome meaſure leaving that manufacture to the induſtry of the merchants, if an excluſive charter were granted them, the Turkey commerce would be greatly invigorated, and a new ardour and ſpirit of emulation excited among the traders; yet we cannot without removing that great and weighty impediment, occaſioned by the quarantine act, ever hope to bring it to that flouriſhing ſtate we ſhould aim at. For we may juſtly apprehend, that though the merchants may be ſecured from being impoſed on by

forged accounts of the plague, and the little arts of their rivals in trade, they will ſtill be diſtruſtful of their envy, and of the contingent conſequences of a diſtemper ſo frequent in that country, which may expoſe them, though in a leſs degree, to ſee their property tied up from year to year, their ſhips return empty, and the circulation of trade interrupted.

The Dutch, who are as wiſe and provident a people as any in Europe, love to enjoy life as much as we do; and if we conſider their natural equanimity, they may be perhaps juſtly ſaid to love and enjoy it more; they however have not better apparent precautions than we againſt the plague.

They have acquired knowledge from experience; we ſhould endeavour to follow their example, but we decline it. With all our boaſted wiſ-

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dom and ſagacity, we are eternally tormenting ourſelves with vain and groundleſs fears of remote or imaginary evils; ſometimes our peace of mind is diſturbed by a frantic paroxiſm in religion, ſometimes by a fit in politics, and ſometimes by the fears of death.

The plague was never brought into theſe kingdoms immediately from Turkey. The Dutch never received the contagion directly from thence; they have admitted ſhips into their ports, either with clean or foul bills of health, and have found themſelves, as we may, always ſafe.

A ſlight attention to facts would make this matter clear to the cool reaſon of a Dutchman; but, I fear, it will not have the ſame effect upon the mind of an Engliſhman, blinded with paſſion and prejudice. The plague cannot be denied to be contagious, but

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not to that degree which has been repreſented by ſome, and moſt are apt to imagine it.

All communication of the infection muſt ariſe either from men or merchandize; with regard to the former, when there is the leaſt ſuſpicion of plague in any ſea-port town of Turkey or any neighbouring village, the maſters of ſhips, the merchants, and the conſul are particularly careful and vigilant to keep the veſſel at a proper diſtance in the port, and not to ſuffer any of the ſhip's company to go on ſhore; at the ſame time they will not permit a living ſoul to come a-board, or any goods ſuſceptible of infection to approach the veſſel. All ſeamen are ſtrictly forbid to go near it; and, to do them juſtice, they punctually obey the order: for when the fear of that diſeaſe is once infuſed into their minds, they dread it more than a wreck, or a cannon-ball. The

The Levant company's orders, both with regard to men and merchandize before ſhipping, to prevent infection, have been always ſtrictly obſerved in Turkey; when they had their general ſhips, their ſeamen were under ſuch command, that they conſidered themſelves as inhabitants of the veſſel; there ſcarce appeared a new face on board from year to year; they were moſt of them men that had families at home, and kept a watchful eye over each other's conduct, to prevent irregularity and infection, inſomuch that from the firſt origin of the charter, not one of them ever died of the plague. Orders of the ſame nature were as effectually enforced, with regard to merchandiſe, and as punctually executed as at a Venetian or French quarantine; airing, purifying, and every poſſible precaution was taken before the goods were ſhipped: and

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it is to be hoped we may equally depend upon the execution of the ſame orders which ſubſiſt at preſent.

I am very ſure we may rely on the conſuls, who are inflexibly exact, and would not fail to give immediate advice to the government or company, in caſe of the leaſt infraction.

The Dutch have purſued the ſame plan, and remain in full ſecurity under that long-experienced regulation, however imperfect their own may be at home.

The longer men have been confined together in the ſtagnated air of a ſhip's cabbin, the more ſuſceptible will they be of receiving an infection, by ſo cloſe a communication with each other. A voyage from Turkey to England is ſeldom performed in leſs than two months; ſometimes it takes a much longer time: contagion in a ſhip muſt therefore deſtroy two thirds,

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or, at leaſt, one half of the crew. Upon her arrival any officer who approaches her in a boat, which may be done with great ſafety, can eaſily aſcertain the ſtate of the men with regard to health and ſickneſs; he may muſter them on the ſhip's ſide, examine their number, and judge how many are neceſſary to navigate the veſſel, and how many be wanting for that purpoſe.

Let the maſter exhibit the agreement between him and the ſhip's company on his departure; thence will appear the number of his firſt complement, and how far they are deficient at his arrival, whence degrees of ſuſpicion may ariſe with regard to health or ſickneſs, and proper meaſures purſued accordingly.

When we are certain of the health of the men, we may, I preſume, make ourſelves eaſy with regard to any fears which

which may ariſe from the merchandize; for, beſides the precautions which, as I have already obſerved, are taken in Turkey, as effectual methods are taken of treating thoſe productions, and from the manner our merchants or factors are ſupplied with them in that country, we may depend upon great ſecurity againſt infection.

The ſorts of merchandize thought to be moſt ſuſceptible of conveying the contagion are ſilks, cottons, mohair-yarn, and goats-wool; even the moſt timorous cannot work up their imaginations ſo far as to find it in box, wood, fruit, or drugs.

Silks are produced in Syria, chiefly at or about Antioch, ſome at Tripoly, and Latachia, a few bales in the plains of Cyprus, and ſome at Bruſſia in Aſia Minor.

The ſilk growers, whether Chriſtians or Turks, have, as I have been informed,

ed, diſtinct apartments for that purpoſe; they do not lye in the rooms where the ſilk-worms ſpin; nor where the ſilk is ſeparated, divided, made up in ſkanes, and packed in the bales, ſo that in the whole proceſs there ſeems little probability, that the moſt ſubtile infection can be communicated to the ſilks.

But even granting ſuch infection to be poſſible or probable, we have ſtill ſtronger reaſons for ſecurity; for we may ſafely affirm, that the plague ſcarce ever rages in thoſe parts of the country where the ſilk is made; namely, at and about Antioch, at Tripoly and Latachia, Cyprus, or Bruſſia. An accident may, indeed appear once in 15 or 20 years; but the people immediately fly from their habitations; and as they are generally Chriſtians who buy that commodity from the growers, and who are a ſort of agents between the ſeller and

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the buyer, their fears prevent them from approaching men or merchandize, from whence they ſuſpect ſo much as a poſſibility of receiving infection.

Cottons and mohair-yarn, which are the products of Aſia Minor, are exactly in the ſame predicament with the ſilk. The parts where the cottons grow, as at Kirkagatih, &c. and Angora, where the mohair-yarn is ſpun and packed, are very ſeldom infected with the plague. Goat-wool is cleaned and packed by Greeks and Armenians, and, formerly, in many of the Engliſh factor's own warehouſes; but never in time even of a ſuſpicion of a peſtilential diſorder.

A general obſervation taken from fact may have more weight with the reader, than any thing that has been hitherto alledged.

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All ſorts of merchandize ſuſceptible of infection paſs through the hands of our Engliſh merchants or factors at Aleppo, Smyrna, or the places from whence they are ſhipped; they are generally examined ſtrictly by them, or by their ſervants. The deſire of ſelf-preſervation is as ſtrongly implanted in the breaſt of an Engliſhman, and actuates him as powerfully, abroad as at home; he would not ſurely venture the loſs of his life by infection, if there were the leaſt grounds for ſuch an apprehenſion. He muſt, doubtleſs, be certain that he runs no riſk upon ſuch occaſions. May not, then, thoſe who receive them in England many months after, have the ſame certainty of their being free from danger?

The plague, as I have already obſerved, has never yet been introduced into England or Holland immediately

from Turkey. The experience of centuries is ſufficient, and carries conviction with it. There is not, indeed, upon record, nor has a ſingle living witneſs ever related an inſtance of an Engliſh factor, or ſervant's dying of the plague at any of the ſea-port towns, or in any other part of Syria, or Aſia Minor, and but one only at Conſtantinople, in almoſt a century; though the diſeaſe very frequently rages in that metropolis.

If the plague were as contagious as many ſpeculative minds are apt to imagine it, the precautions taken by the Dutch and by us, by quarantines, would rather facilitate its entry. Our apprehenſions ſeem to be occaſioned more by goods than by men; yet it is from the latter we ſhould dread contagion moſt. The obſervation of facts in the riſe and progreſs of this diſeaſe, confirms the truth of this maxim. The

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